THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS
1892

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Publications

of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1956–1963

Committee of Publication

LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD
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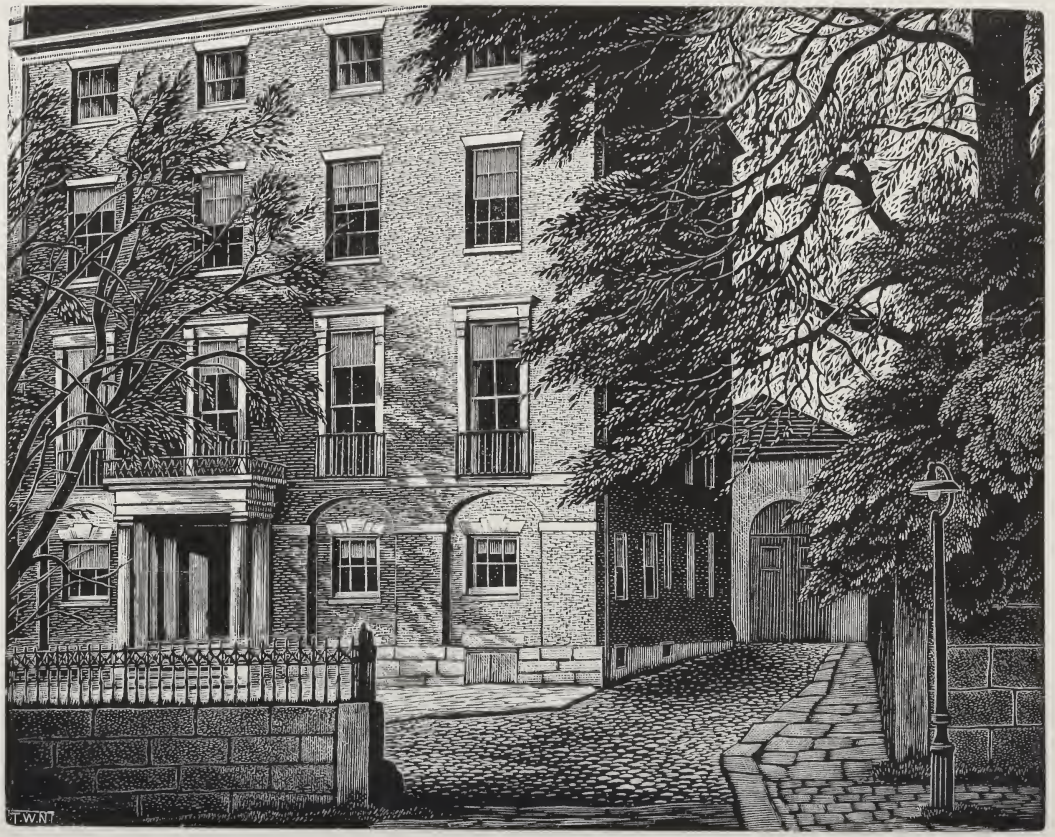
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Editor of Publications

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL



House of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston.
Wood engraving by Thomas W. Nason, 1957.

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PUBLICATIONS
of
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XLIII

TRANSACTIONS
1956-1963

Boston
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1966

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THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE

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Officers of
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

1 July 1966

President
CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON

Vice-Presidents
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
FREDERICK SCOULLER ALLIS, JR.

Recording Secretary
ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Corresponding Secretary
DAVID BRITTON LITTLE

Treasurer
CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND

Executive Members of Council
WENDELL DOUGLAS GARRETT
SINCLAIR HAMILTON HITCHINGS
ALEXANDER WHITESIDE WILLIAMS

Editor of Publications
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Resident Members

In the Order of their Enrolment

1899
Frederic Haines Curtiss

1912
Samuel Eliot Morison

1923
Kenneth Ballard Murdock

1928
James Phinney Baxter, 3rd

1929
Philip Putnam Chase
Richard Ammi Cutter
Francis Parkman

1931
Robert Ephraim Peabody

1932
Clifford Kenyon Shipton
Henry Lee Shattuck
Robert Earle Moody

1935
Richard Mott Gummere

1937
Henry Rouse Viets

1939
Palfrey Perkins
Morton Peabody Prince

1940
Frederick Scouller Allis, Jr.
Walter Muir Whitehill
Stephen Phillips

1941
Elliott Perkins

1942
Richard LeBaron Bowen

1944
Charles Dyer Childs

1945
Howard Mumford Jones
Ernest Stanley Dodge
Ellis Wethrell Brewster
Richard Walden Hale, Jr.

1946
George Talbot Goodspeed

1947
George Caspar Homans
Mark DeWolfe Howe
Frederick Milton Kimball
Chauncey Cushing Nash
Kenneth John Conant
Samuel Chamberlain
Bartlett Harding Hayes, Jr.
Carleton Rubira Richmond

1948
Raymond Sanger Wilkins
Edward Ely Curtis
Henry Hornblower, II

1949
John Otis Brew
Francis Whiting Hatch

1950
Charles Howard McIlwain
Zoltán Haraszti
Arthur Joseph Riley
Michael James Walsh
Oscar Handlin
Mark Bortman
John Phillips Coolidge
Bertram Kimball Little
David Britton Little
David Pingree Wheatland
Stephen Wheatland

1951
Gordon Thaxter Banks
Buchanan Charles
I. Bernard Cohen

William Henry Harrison
David Milton Kendall McKibbin
David Thompson Watson McCord
Richard Donald Pierce
Stephen Thomas Riley
Robert Dale Richardson
Douglas Swain Byers
Alfred Porter Putnam
Augustus Peabody Loring
Alexander Whiteside Williams

1952

Thomas Boylston Adams

1953

Robert Hammond Haynes
Edward Neal Hartley

1954

Lyman Henry Butterfield
Charles Rutan Strickland
Hugh Whitney
William Bentinck Smith
Bernard Bailyn

1955

Ebenezer Gay
William Bradford Osgood
Perry Townsend Rathbone

1956

Marion Vernon Brewington
Paul Herman Buck
Edward Pierce Hamilton
Frederick Johnson
Edwin Williams Small
Duncan Howlett

1957

Abbott Lowell Cummings
Conover Fitch
Richard Bourne Holman
Frederick Josiah Bradlee
Malcolm Freiberg

1958

John Bryant Paine, Jr.
Gilbert Russell Payson
Alden Porter Johnson

1959

Wendell Douglas Garrett
John Petersen Elder
Frank Burt Freidel
Dean Abner Fales, Jr.
Charles Edward Stearns
Cornelius Clarkson Vermeule, III

1960

Robert Churchill Vose, Jr.
Philip Hofer
Thomas James Wilson
John Codman
Henry Seton
John Daniel Cushing

1961

Roger Allan Moore
Leo Flaherty
Francis Joseph Lally

1963

Sinclair Hamilton Hitchings
Robert Arnold Feer

1964

Edgar Packard Dean
Russell W. Knight
William J. Gurney
Paul Fenimore Cooper, Jr.
Albert Blakeslee Wolfe
George Daniel Martin Cunha
Sydney Wayne Jackman
Edward Topping James
Michael Gedaliah Kammen
Wilcomb Edward Washburn
Rhys Williams

1965

Albert Goodhue
George Lawson Wrenn, III
Marc Friedlander
Peter R. Haack

Honorary Members

1934
James Bryant Conant

1947
Richard James Cushing
Leverett Saltonstall
Robert Fiske Bradford

1951
Julian Parks Boyd

1953
Nathan Marsh Pusey
Keyes DeWitt Metcalf
Henry Francis duPont

1954
Waldo Gifford Leland

1959
Rudolph Ruzicka

1964
Edward Moore Kennedy
Paul Mellon
Sidney Dillon Ripley, 2nd
John J. Wright

Corresponding Members

1926
Henry Crocker Kittredge

1929
George Andrews Moriarty, Jr.

1931
John Howland Gibbs Pell
Leonard Woods Labaree

1932
Samuel Flagg Bemis

1935
Lawrence Counselman Wroth

1936
Curtis Putnam Nettels

1937
Verner Winslow Crane

1938
Fulmer Mood

1939
Ernest Caulfield
Theodore Hornberger

1940
Thomas Herbert Johnson
William Gurdon Saltonstall

1944
Carleton Sprague Smith
Ralph Henry Gabriel
Raymond Phineas Stearns

1945
Herbert Ross Brown

1948
Carl Bridenbaugh

1949
Wendell Stanwood Hadlock

1950
William Greenough Wendell
Bernhard Knollenberg

1951
Henry Beston
William Robert Chaplin
Louis Booker Wright
John Edwin Pomfret
Marius Barbeau
Douglass Adair
Arthur Pierce Middleton
Oliver Morton Dickerson
Lawrence Henry Gipson

1952
Raleigh Ashlin Skelton
Frederick George Emmison

1953
Ray Nash
José Maria de la Peña

1954
Robert Sturgis Ingersoll
Henry Joel Cadbury

1955
Lester Jesse Cappon

1956
Vernon Dale Tate
Wesley Frank Craven

Alfred A. Knopf
Francis Lewis Berkeley

1957
Thompson Ritner Harlow
Thomas Randolph Adams

1959
Andrew Oliver

1960
James J. Heslin

1961
Edward Chase Kirkland

1963
David Beers Quinn
Rodney W. Armstrong

Non-Resident Members

1950
James Lincoln Huntington
William Roberts Carlton
Edmund Sears Morgan
Robert William Glenroie Vail
Charles Leslie Glenn
John Lydenberg
George Lee Haskins
Daniel Joseph Boorstin
Sarell Everett Gleason

1951
Joseph Raphael Frese
William Lewis Sachse
Whitfield Jenks Bell, Jr.

1952
Douglas Edward Leach
Alexander Orr Vietor
Everett Harold Hugo

1953
Hamilton Vaughan Bail
Charles Woolsey Cole
John Douglas Forbes
Francis Taylor Pearsons Plimpton

1954
Charles Cortez Abbott
Sumner Chilton Powell

1955
Lawrence William Towner

1958
William Rotch

1959
Leonard Carl Faber
Walter MacIntosh Merrill
Charles Akers

1961
Thomas Churchill Barrow

1962
Charles Christopher Laing
Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

1963
Benjamin Woods Labaree

1964
Myron Piper Gilmore
Richard Harding Randall, Jr.

Marcus Allen McCorison
J. Bruce Sinclair
Charles van Ravenswaay
Lawrence Kinvin Wroth
George Athan Billias
Jere Rogers Daniell, II
Philip Johannes Greven, Jr.
Sydney Vincent James, Jr.
Marius B. Peladeau
Willis van Deventer

1965

Jules David Prown
Darrett B. Rutman
Alden T. Vaughan

Members Deceased

Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with date of death

Resident

Claude Moore Fuess	10 *September*	1963
Benjamin Loring Young	4 *June*	1964
George Norton Northrop	31 *July*	1964
Henry Wilder Foote	27 *August*	1964
Henry Morse Channing	1 *October*	1964
William Alexander Jackson	4 *October*	1964
Arthur Meier Schlesinger	30 *October*	1965
Francis Apthorp Foster	16 *March*	1966
Frederick Lewis Weis	11 *April*	1966
Fred Norris Robinson	21 *July*	1966
Arthur Stanwood Pier	14 *August*	1966

Honorary

John Adams	30 *August*	1964
James Alexander Williamson	1 *January*	1965

Corresponding

Thomas Stearns Eliot	4 *January*	1965
Walter Goodwin Davis	11 *June*	1966

Non-Resident

Harold Bowditch	6 *August*	1964

Transactions
1956-1963

Transactions of

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

December Meeting, 1956

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 20 December 1956, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, FREDERICK JOHNSON, BENJAMIN WOODS LABAREE, and EDWIN WILLIAMS SMALL accepting election to Resident Membership, and of letters from Messrs. WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN and ALFRED A. KNOPF accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Reverend DUNCAN HOWLETT, Minister of the First Church in Boston, was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. FRANCIS LEWIS BERKELEY, of Charlottesville, Virginia, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. WHITEHILL reported the gift by Mr. PAUL CODMAN CABOT of the large Aubusson rug now in the Cupid and Psyche Room on the second floor of the Society's House.

Mr. THOMAS RANDOLPH ADAMS then gave an account of the Chapin Library of Williams College, of which he was then Custodian. In lieu of printing this paper, Mr. Adams, now Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, has offered the Society the following bibliography, which grew out of an exhibition arranged by him at the Chapin Library.

American Independence
The Growth of an Idea

A bibliographical study of the American political pamphlets published between 1764 and 1776 dealing with the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies

INTRODUCTION

THIS is a bibliographical study of the American political pamphlets printed between the passage of the Stamp Act and the Declaration of Independence. It is confined to the pamphlets which discuss the issues and events that in a dozen years changed the British colonies in North America from loyal and even enthusiastic members of a newly enlarged empire into a nation prepared to destroy by force bonds that had bound them to the mother country for more than a century and a half. Out of the vast body of writing that has been called the literature of the American Revolution, published between 1764 and 1783, a specific class has been selected for study. First, it must be American. Second, it must concern issues or events that led directly to the Declaration of Independence. Third, it must be a political essay, and fourth, it must have appeared in the form of a pamphlet. Fifth, it must have been printed before July 4, 1776.

In this study I have used the test of publication as the basis of inclusion. By publication I mean: the pamphlets written by Americans which were printed in America; the pamphlets written by Englishmen and first printed in England which were reprinted in America; and the pamphlets written by Englishmen which, although not reprinted in America, elicited a reply written by an American and printed in America. This approach involves many problems of interpretation. At the outset, however, it has resulted in some interesting revelations.

Paine's *Common Sense* of 1776 was a runaway best seller. The twenty-five American editions recorded here only confirm that fact. However, it was something of a freak. The next ranking pamphlet went through less than half as many American editions. The following tabulation of the dozen most frequently printed pamphlets is significant.

	Number of American Editions	*Number of American Cities and Towns in which editions appeared*
Paine, *Common Sense*, 1776 (no. 222)	25	13
*Shipley, *Speech*, 1774 (no. 141)	12	8
**Dickinson, *Letters*, 1768 (no. 54)	7	5
Lee, *Strictures*, 1774 (no. 125)	7	6
*Rokeby, *Considerations*, 1774 (no. 134)	7	5
Allen, *Oration*, 1773 (no. 91)	7	4
Dulany, *Considerations*, 1765 (no. 11)	5	4
Franklin, *Examination*, 1766 (no. 31)	5	5
*Shipley, *Sermon*, 1773 (no. 100)	5	5
Hancock, *Oration*, 1774 (no. 117)	5	4
*Price, *Observations*, 1776 (no. 224)	5	4
Hutchinson, *Letters*, 1773 (no. 96)	5	2

* Pamphlets that appeared first in England.

** A pamphlet that was first printed in American newspapers.

The most interesting things about the above tabulation, and the bibliography as a whole, are the titles that either are not present or apparently had a limited circulation in America. The three pamphlets by James Otis appeared in a single American edition although each went through at least two London editions. Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View*, 1774, was printed only twice in America, a small Williamsburg edition and one brought out in Philadelphia. James Wilson's carefully wrought *Considerations on the Nature and extent of the Legislative authority of the British Parliament*, 1774, was printed only once, as were Alexander Hamilton's two contributions. None of the Boston radicals made the list unless one wishes to give them credit for the Hutchinson *Letters* which they published. Even the noted Tory pamphlets of Thomas Bradbury Chandler, James Galloway, and Samuel Seabury did not achieve wide circulation although in the case of the latter two threats by patriotic organizations probably provide part of the explanation. With the exception of his *Examination* of 1766 and his *Causes of the Present Distractions* of 1774, there are no works by Benjamin Franklin and in neither case did the author originally intend them to be political pamphlets. The *Examination* was an oral statement, the printed text of which Franklin always regarded as highly unsatisfactory. The *Causes of the Present Distractions* was a compilation by a Tory printer,

James Rivington, from a group of writings that had originally appeared in the English press. Franklin, like Arthur Lee, devoted most of his energies to addressing the reading public in England. The two most notable writings by John Adams, *A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law* of 1768 and his "Novanglus Letters" of 1775, were not issued separately in this country until after 1776, although the former was reprinted in England in 1768. The same thing is true of certain writings of Samuel Adams, William Henry Drayton, and John Joachim Zubly. There are also a number of English pamphlets frequently mentioned in the historical literature that will not be found in this study. They include Samuel Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny* of 1775 and John Wesley's *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* of 1775. They were neither reprinted in America nor did they move any American pamphlet writer to reply to them. This is not to say that English pamphlets were not read in America. Study of booksellers' advertisements in newspapers and of the catalogues of the library of Thomas Jefferson and The Library Company of Philadelphia, or a reading of the correspondence between the thoughtful and important Americans of the period, quickly dispels any such notion. English pamphlets were sent to America in substantial numbers. Here I want to emphasize the pamphlets printed by American printers. In his *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain 1764-1776* (1958), Arthur M. Schlesinger demonstrates the part played by newspapers in keeping the issues alive. But printers were also businessmen. Unless there is evidence to the contrary, it can usually be assumed they did not go to the expense of printing a pamphlet unless they thought the public would buy it. This criterion of publication is not the only element to be considered in evaluating a pamphlet. All the known circumstances of publication should be taken into account, and these I tried to indicate whenever possible. However, I feel that the actual work done by colonial printers provides the fundamental standard necessary for this bibliographical study.

In restricting the study to the broad political issues that led directly up to the Declaration of Independence, all the local disputes have been omitted. A number of these, such as the proprietary struggle in Pennsylvania and the "Two Penny Act" controversy in Virginia, began well before 1764, but were fundamentally local fights. Others, such as the Regulators of North Carolina and the American Episcopate controversy, took place after 1764, but were also local or of a special nature not directly

concerned with the central problem of the political relationship between Great Britain and her colonies. Incidentally the second subject has already been treated in William Nelson's *The Controversy over the Proposition for an American Episcopate, 1764-1774, A Bibliography* (1909), but it needs to be expanded to include the British side of the story. Although all events of the time played their part in building the mood for independence, it was the local events in Boston that finally touched off the larger struggle. For that reason the pamphlets growing out of the Boston events are well represented. The basic consideration for inclusion is whether or not the pamphlet dealt with the main issue: the nature of the political relationship between the colonies and Great Britain.

No poetry, plays, or satires have been included. The dramatic material has been described in Frank P. Hill's *American Plays Printed 1714-1830, A Bibliographical Record* (1934). Poetry has also been treated bibliographically in Oscar Wegelin's *Early American Poetry* (1930) for which Roger Stoddard is preparing additions toward a revision. Satires have also recently received separate treatment by Bruce I. Granger in his *Political Satire in the American Revolution 1763-1783* (1960). The official Acts and Proceedings of the state assemblies and the Continental Congress have been omitted because of the need described by J. H. Powell in his *New Books for a New Nation* (1957) for a more thorough study of the nature of government printing, and also because the publications of the Continental Congress were in general a result of the issues raised by these pamphlets. Sermons and orations have been dealt with selectively. I have chosen for inclusion those in which the issues of the day were discussed at some length or which were stimulated by a major event such as the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre, or the Battle of Lexington and Concord. In general, fast sermons, election sermons, and artillery sermons have been omitted when they are theological disquisitions containing only a brief reference to the political issues of the day.

In confining the study to pamphlets I have omitted the political essays that appeared in newspapers and also those that appeared as broadsides, as broadsheets, or as four-page folio publications which were more akin to broadsides than they were to the traditional pamphlet form. Moses Coit Tyler drew a distinction in his *Literary History of the American Revolution* (1897) between the political essays in newspapers and those that were published in pamphlet form. In this he was supported by a contemporary

writer in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for March 25, 1776. In a piece entitled "Conversation between Cato and Plain Truth," the author contrasts two replies to Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. Provost William Smith of the College of Philadelphia had used the pseudonym "Cato" for a series of letters he had written to the newspaper. *Plain Truth* was the title of a pamphlet (no. 208) by James Chalmers. The author of the "Conversation" has Cato say, "Our cause will never appear to advantage in a pamphlet. If you begin a series of letters in a news-paper you are at full liberty to say as much or as little as you please, to suspend your operations for a time and strike in again when occasion serves." Further on he says, "When you write a pamphlet you are expected to say the best, if not all that can be said on the subject, and if it contains a few weighty arguments the author is despised and the subject suffers. There you are obliged to come to a period, but you may write a twelve month in a news-paper and yet make the public believe that your main argument has not yet appeared." Seventeen per cent of the titles in the following bibliography also appeared in full or in part in newspapers. Ten appeared there first and were later reprinted as pamphlets and twenty-one reversed the process.

I have omitted all pamphlets that were purely English in origin and publication. To have included them would have impaired one of the purposes of the study, which is to provide a bibliography in which each pamphlet is described in terms of the American setting in which it appeared.* The number of editions, where they are printed, the approximate date of their appearance, their sale throughout the colonies, and other circumstances relating to their printing and publication all have some bearing on the significance of the individual pamphlet to its time. I have not in every case been able to provide all of this information. Through microfilm and photostats I have examined the files of at least one newspaper from every colony in which a paper was published during the years 1764-1776. In the case of South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts I have done this for two and sometimes three newspapers. I have also included a complete record of the contemporary English and continental editions of the pamphlets.

This is a bibliography for people concerned with the study of the origins of the American Revolution. I hope that others, the collector, the antiquarian bookseller, and the librarian, will also find it useful. But it is intended primarily for those men and women who feel they must examine

every aspect of the many forces that caused the loyal British colonies in North America to become the first sovereign nation of the New World.

The Bibliographical Method

The study is arranged chronologically by the imprint date on the title page of the first edition. Subsequent editions are listed chronologically after the first edition. Editions bearing the same date have been listed in terms of their geographical proximity to the place of publication of the first. Thus, in the case of a Boston pamphlet all subsequent Boston editions of the same year come next, followed by the New York edition, the Philadelphia edition, and the London edition. In a few cases, when it has been possible to determine the actual date of publication from newspaper advertisements, the true chronological order of appearance has been used. An exception was made in the case of translations and the separate publication of part of the pamphlet such as an abridgment. These will be found at the end of the entry for each title.

The description:

Within each year, each title has been arranged by the author or title, or in some special cases the corporate entry. The description of the physical pamphlet is less than a full formal bibliographical analysis. Enough of the title page has been given to show the nature of the contents. The imprint is given in a separate paragraph. It too has been shortened to omit addresses of printers and booksellers. However, those parts of both the title and imprint that have been set down have followed the exact wording of the title page. Omissions have been indicated by the three dot elision symbol. The collation of each item includes the pagination, the format, and the signatures. Here a rule of bibliography has been violated, the requirement that the pagination and signatures add up to the same number of leaves. In giving the pagination only those leaves with printing on them have been included while in describing the signatures blank leaves have been included. The presence of advertising or other matter not directly related to the text has been indicated in curves following the pagination, and the presence of blank leaves has similarly been indicated following the signatures. It should be noted that blank leaves have been described only in those cases where they have been seen in a copy of the pamphlet. There are a number of cases in which a signature with an odd number of

leaves strongly suggests the presence of a blank leaf, but unless a copy with the leaf has been seen no mention has been made of it. The format has been determined purely by the chain lines in the paper as set down by R. B. McKerrow in *An Introduction to Bibliography* (1927).

In the notes I have attempted to provide the basic information about the circumstances surrounding the publication of each American edition. With certain exceptions, this has not been done for the English editions. In every case I have endeavored to give the earliest newspaper advertisement for the item. In addition I have tried to include advertisements that may have appeared in newspapers other than in the city in which the pamphlet first appeared. When I say "Advertised in" a certain issue of a newspaper, I mean that that issue contains the first announcement discovered that reads "This day published" or a similar wording indicating that the pamphlet was then being sold. Any departure from this practice is so stated. This does not mean, of course, that copies of a pamphlet were not available before the stated date. The printer may have begun sale any time during the previous week or in a few cases even earlier. I have also endeavored to give some record of the extent to which all or part of the text was reprinted in colonial newspapers. In every case where the text first appeared in a newspaper the particulars are given. However, later publication has been noted only so far as it came to light in the searches described earlier.

In pamphlets containing a large number of miscellaneous documents, I have not, in most cases, tried to provide a detailed contents note beyond what appears on the title page. However, I have noted prominent individual works, such as substantial essays or speeches or the complete reprinting of another pamphlet.

The attribution of all anonymous works, which constitute about forty per cent of the total, has been explained. In a few cases I have had simply to cite Evans or the Library of Congress Catalog as my authority, but in most cases I have been able to give further documentation. I have also noted the names of any other persons, such as editors and translators, who may have been associated with the tract, and the names of people to whom the work has been incorrectly attributed from time to time.

Editions:

The relation of one edition to another has been treated in three ways:

first, those in which the same sheets or substantially the same setting of type have been used; second, where there has been a resetting with no apparent textual change; and, third, where the author has clearly made extensive textual alterations. In the case of the first two, a close word-for-word comparison may reveal minor changes which would be important to anyone preparing the text for publication. The one exception to the above is Franklin's *Examination* (no. 31) where closer study was justified because it was necessary in working out the relationship between the various printings.

This study is primarily concerned with the different editions of the pamphlets. Points that constitute states and issues have been noted when they came to my attention. There has been no systematic attempt to discover all of them. It is my belief that an exhaustive bibliographical analysis that includes a close comparison of all available copies does not belong in a work like this, designed to give the user an over-all picture of the literature. A number of the works listed here deserve such treatment, but I feel that should be reserved for individual study.

Bibliographies:

In general the only bibliographies cited are the two major ones—Sabin and Evans. The latter is particularly important because in a sense this work is a supplement to the microprint publication being carried out by Clifford K. Shipton at the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Shipton's work has made my task much easier because he simplified the identification of ghosts; that is, nonexistent titles and editions listed by Evans. I have relied heavily on his microprint cards, and he has generously given me access to his notes for the unpublished entries. In certain cases additional specialized bibliographies, particularly author bibliographies, have been cited.

Census:

The census of copies is not intended to be complete. The libraries represented were selected in an effort to include two elements, geographical location and major collections.

The following analysis of the ten strongest collections is offered not for purposes of comparison, but to indicate the institutions where a scholar can most fruitfully pursue the study of these pamphlets. In every case the libraries listed below have near at hand substantial collections of supporting

material essential in understanding the literature. These calculations are based on the 230 titles, regardless of editions, represented in the bibliography. I could have also calculated on the basis of the total number of editions or on the first editions. The results would have varied slightly, but essentially the same institutions would have been represented. The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University and the Library of Congress have between seventy and seventy-five per cent, the American Antiquarian Society and the Huntington Library have between sixty-five and sixty-nine per cent, while the following libraries have between sixty and sixty-four per cent: the Boston Athenæum, the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Harvard University Libraries, the New York Public Library, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Yale University Library. The Boston Public Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society should be included in this last group because their collections almost fall within the sixty to sixty-four per cent group. The linking of the Library Company of Philadelphia with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is based on the proposed location of the two institutions in adjoining buildings so that the two collections will reinforce each other. However, individually they have substantial holdings. The Library Company of Philadelphia has about fifty-five per cent and the Historical Society about fifty-two per cent of the list. The library situation in Philadelphia is unusual. Its resources are spread among a large number of important libraries. For that reason all the major libraries of the city have been included in the census. Anyone planning to do work in Philadelphia should be aware of and use the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue. This cooperative catalogue, located at the University of Pennsylvania, is a vital factor in coordinating the library resources of the whole area.

Acknowledgments

This study began in the Chapin Library at Williams College where I served as the Custodian from 1955 to 1957. On October 19, 1956, we opened an exhibition, the title of which has been used for this study. On that occasion Edmund S. Morgan delivered an address on the nature of the pamphlets that was both witty and stimulating. A number of libraries, notably The Library of Congress, The New-York Historical Society, The William L. Clements Library, The Boston Athenæum, and the Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania Library, loaned pamphlets on that occasion although most of the items were taken from the collection of the Chapin Library. After the exhibition was over I resolved to pursue the question of political pamphlets further, and the present study is the result.

Bibliographers are always presented with a peculiar problem when acknowledging the assistance of others. They are so completely dependent upon the legacy from bibliographers of the past, their elders, and their peers that the pages expressing their debt could easily be as long as the work itself. I shall endeavor here to mention a few of the men and women who have assisted me and who have patiently answered my many questions.

I am more indebted to Mr. John Alden than to any other single individual. He read the whole manuscript before it first went to the printer's and he then checked the galleys against copies in various Boston libraries. In the course of this work he identified the spurious edition of the Boston Massacre *Narrative* (no. 75e) and followed it up by supplying the supporting data from the records of the Boston Town Meeting. Anyone acquainted with the meticulous and thorough manner in which Mr. Alden works will understand the obligation I am under. He, of course, is in no way responsible for errors I missed, but the work is substantially better because of his kindness.

A number of other people have put me under special obligation by their willingness to answer many questions and discuss particular points. Mr. William H. Runge helped me untangle the problems of Franklin's *Examination*. The correspondence with Mr. Howard H. Peckham is one of the thickest in my file. Mr. Lyle H. Wright and Mr. Carey S. Bliss of the Huntington Library also replied to many questions. Mr. Frederick R. Goff of the Library of Congress obviously was one of my most important correspondents, as was Mr. Lewis Stark of the New York Public Library. Special mention should be made of Mr. Edwin Wolf II, who, together with the books in The Library Company of Philadelphia, provided me with some most important assistance. Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield was particularly generous in providing me with additional material for notes from his work with the Adams papers. Others who have been helpful are: Mr. H. Richard Archer, Mr. Bernard Bailyn, Mr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, Mrs. Ruth L. Butler, Mr. C. E. N. Childs, Mr. Verner W. Crane, Mr. Donald B. Engley, Col. Richard

Gimbel, Mr. Archibald Hanna, Mr. Thompson R. Harlow, Mr. Howell J. Heaney, Mr. William H. McCarthy, Miss A. Rachel Minick, Mr. B. E. Powell, Mr. William S. Powell, Mrs. Granville T. Prior, Mr. David A. Randall, Mr. Stephen T. Riley, Mr. Roger E. Stoddard, Mr. Alexander D. Wainwright, Mr. Nicholas B. Wainwright, Mrs. Neda M. Westlake, Mr. Benton W. Wilcox, Mr. John Cook Wyllie, and Miss Marjorie G. Wynne. To Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth I owe special thanks for all the help he gave after I succeeded him as the Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library. He answered questions on several points, and then went over the whole manuscript before it went to the printer. Finally I want to thank the institutions which checked my short title list for locations of copies. It was a large task and beyond the call of duty for any busy library.

I would like to express my additional thanks to four people. To Mr. J. H. Powell I owe a debt for the origin of the idea which was contained in an offhand comment he made many years ago. Mr. Rex D. Parady occupies a special place because of the part he played in the initial planning of the work. Mrs. Joanne D. Prisley, my secretary, typed the whole manuscript and in the process learned more than she ever wanted to know about American Revolutionary pamphlets. I owe an obligation to Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill through whose kindness arrangements were made with the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for publication. Finally I wish to express my thanks to Brown University for the faculty research grant to assist in the preparation of the manuscript.

I cannot close without paying tribute to the Library and its creators who made my task immeasurably easier than it would otherwise have been. The John Carter Brown Library made it possible to do almost three quarters of the work in one place. The men who built the Library, John Carter Brown, John Russell Bartlett, John Nicholas Brown, George Parker Winship, Worthington C. Ford, and Lawrence C. Wroth, have placed all who work with the books of American history forever in their debt.

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Ford-*Hamilton* — *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana; a List of Books Written by, or relating to Alexander Hamilton By Paul Leicester Ford.* 1886.

Gimbel — *Thomas Paine: A Bibliographical Check List of Common Sense With an Account of its Publication By Richard Gimbel.* 1956.

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Sabin — *A Dictionary of Books relating to America From its discovery to the Present Time By Joseph Sabin.* 1868-1936, 29 vols.

Wroth — *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland 1686-1776 By Lawrence C. Wroth.* 1922.

KEY TO LOCATIONS

BM	The British Museum.
Bodl.*	The Bodleian Library.
CSmH	The Henry E. Huntington Library.
CtHWatk	The Watkinson Library, Trinity College.
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society.
CtY	Yale University.
DLC	The Library of Congress.
ICN	The Newberry Library.

InU	Indiana University.
MB	The Boston Public Library.
MBAt	The Boston Athenæum.
MH	Harvard University.
MHi	The Massachusetts Historical Society.
MWA	The American Antiquarian Society.
MWiW-C	The Chapin Library, Williams College.
MiU-C	The William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
NHi	The New-York Historical Society.
NN	The New York Public Library.
NcD	Duke University.
NcU	The University of North Carolina.
NjP	Princeton University.
PHi	The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
PP	The Free Library of Philadelphia.
PPAmP	The American Philosophical Society.
PPL	The Library Company of Philadelphia.
PPRos	The Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation.
PU	The University of Pennsylvania.
RPB	Brown University.
RPJCB	The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.
ScHi*	The South Carolina Historical Society.
ViU	The University of Virginia.
WHi	The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

* Complete holdings not recorded.

THE

Colonel Diſmounted:

OR THE

Rector Vindicated.

In a Letter addreſſed to His REVERENCE:

CONTAINING

A Diſſertation upon the CONSTITUTION *of the* COLONY.

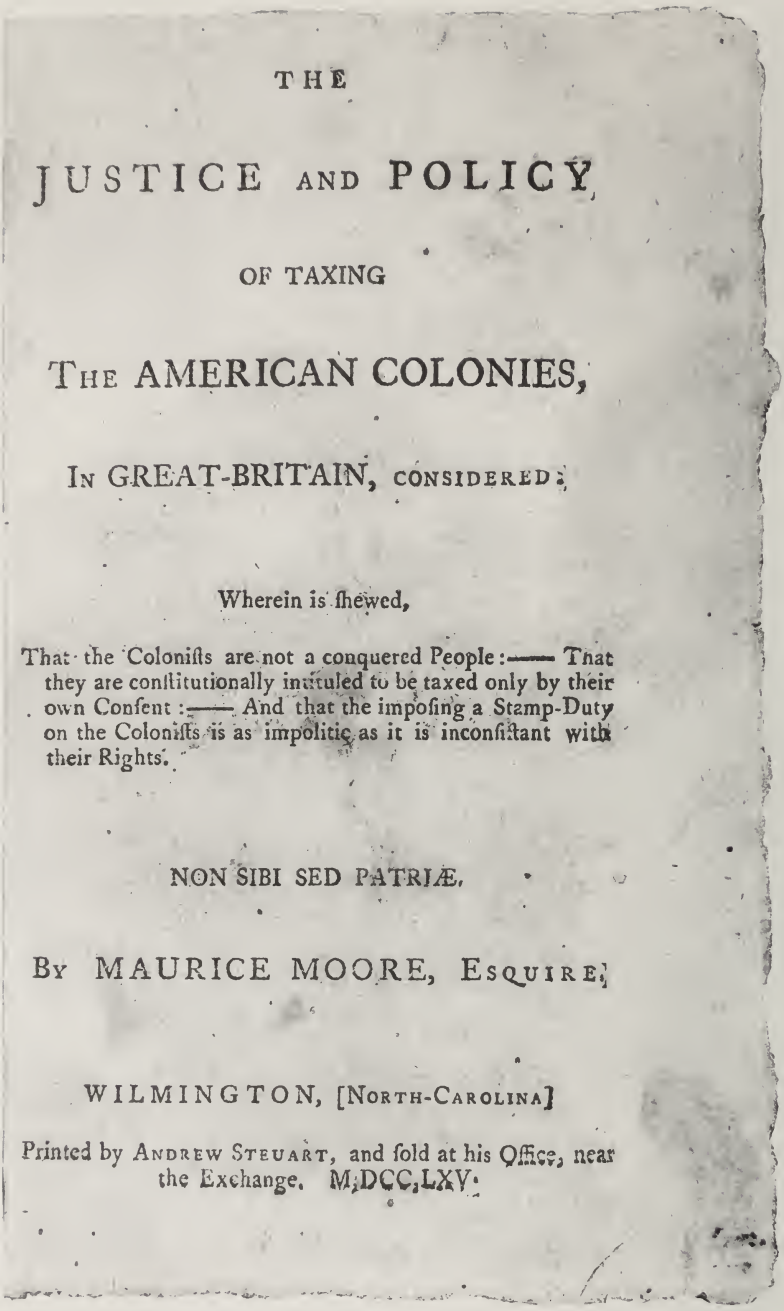
By COMMON SENSE.

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic, incredulus odi.

HOR.

WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed by JOSEPH ROYLE, MDCCLXIV.

I. Richard Bland's *The Colonel Dismounted*, no. 1, the American Antiquarian Society.



THE

JUSTICE AND POLICY

OF TAXING

THE AMERICAN COLONIES,

IN GREAT-BRITAIN, CONSIDERED;

Wherein is ſhewed,

That the Coloniſts are not a conquered People:—— That they are conſtitutionally intituled to be taxed only by their own Conſent:—— And that the impoſing a Stamp-Duty on the Coloniſts is as impolitic as it is inconſiſtant with their Rights.

NON SIBI SED PATRIÆ.

BY MAURICE MOORE, ESQUIRE;

WILMINGTON, [NORTH-CAROLINA]

Printed by ANDREW STEUART, and ſold at his Office, near the Exchange. M,DCC,LXV.

II. Maurice Moore's *The Justice And Policy Of Taxing The American Colonies*, no. 18, The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

1764

1. [Bland, Richard] 1710-1776.

The Colonel Dismounted: Or The Rector Vindicated. In a Letter addressed to His Reverence: Containing A Dissertation upon the Constitution of the Colony. By Common Sense. . . .

Williamsburg: Printed by Joseph Royle. MDCCLXIV.

1 p. l., [1]-30, i-xxvii p., 4to, [-]^2 [A]-G^4.

The major part of this pamphlet deals with the Two Penny Act and the Parson's Cause, purely local issues, which had started as early as 1755 and produced between 1760 and 1765 a series of exchanges between John Camm, Langdon Carter, and Bland. Because of its local nature it would not normally have been included. However, pages 19-29 contain an argument for colonial self-government. See: *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (new series), vol. XL (1933), pp. 292-293 and Clinton Rossiter's "Richard Bland, The Whig in America," *William & Mary Quarterly* (3rd series), vol. X (1953), p. 48. Plate I.

Copies: DLC, MWA.

2. Considerations Upon The Act of Parliament, Whereby A Duty is laid of six Pence Sterling per Gallon on Molasses, and five Shillings per Hundred on Sugar of foreign Growth, imported into any of the British Colonies. Shewing Some of the many Inconveniencies necessarily resulting from the Operation of the said Act. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . MDCCLXIV.

[1]-28 p., 1 l., 8vo, [A]-D^4 (D4 blank).

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for January 9, 1764. The February 6th issue of the same newspaper carried an advertisement for a "Second Edition." It may have been a reissue of this with no edition notice or it may have been a reprinting. In any case, no copy has been located that calls itself the second edition.

Evans 9625, Sabin 16030.

Copies: DLC, MB, MBAt, MWA, NHi, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

3. [Fitch, Thomas] ca. 1700-1774.

Reasons Why The British Colonies, In America, Should Not Be Charged With Internal Taxes, By Authority Of Parliament; Humbly Offered For Consideration, In Behalf of the Colony of Connecticut.

New-Haven: Printed by B. Mecom. MDCCLXIV.

[1]-39 p., 8vo, [A]-E⁴.

Drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose by the Connecticut General Assembly in May of 1764. Governor Thomas Fitch was the chairman and apparently took a leading part in drafting the document. It is usually listed under his name. See: Lawrence H. Gipson's *Jared Ingersoll*, New Haven, 1920, pp. 123-125.

Evans 9658, Sabin 24588.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PPRos, PU, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

4a. OTIS, JAMES, 1725-1783.

The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and proved. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . M,DCC,LXIV.

[1]-80 p., 8vo, [A]-K⁴.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for July 23, 1764.

Evans 9773, Sabin 57866.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, PPL, RPJCB.

4b. ———. ———.

Boston, New-England, Printed: London Reprinted, for J. Almon . . . [1764].

[1]-120 p., 8vo, B-Q⁴.

The date of publication assigned because it is listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XXXIII, p. 604, under December 1764. However, the RPJCB copy has "1765" added in a contemporary MS and the Monthly Catalogue of the *Monthly Review* does not list it until February of 1765. The *Boston Evening Post* for April 8, 1765 contains a reference to this edition.

Sabin 75866.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, InU, MB, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

4c. ———. ———.

Boston, New-England, Printed: London Reprinted, for J. Williams . . . 1766.

Same collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of types as no. 4b with the

imprint altered. In some copies the last number of the imprint has been changed to a "5" in a contemporary hand.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

4d. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Boston, New-England, Printed: London Reprinted, for J. Almon . . . [1766?].

Same collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 4b.

Sabin 57866.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPB, RPJCB.

4e. ———. ———. The Third Edition, corrected. . . .

Boston, New-England, Printed: London Reprinted, for J. Williams . . . and J. Almon . . . 1766. . . .

Same collation.

Also issued in vol. I of *A Collection Of the most Interesting Tracts, On Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies,* London, J. Almon, 1766, and in vol. I of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts Lately Published in England and America, on the Subjects of taxing the American Colonies,* London: J. Almon, 1766.

Sabin 57866.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

5a. [Pownall, Thomas] 1722-1805.

The Administration Of The Colonies.

London. Printed for J. Wilkie . . . MDCCLXIV.

2 p. l., [1]-131 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ $B\text{-}I^8$ K^2.

Daniel Dulany's *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes,* Annapolis, 1765, no. 11, is, in part, a reply to this.

Sabin 64814.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

5b. ———. ———. The Second Edition, Revised and Corrected, and Enlarged. . . .

London: Printed for J. Dodsley . . . and J. Walter . . . MDCCLXV.

14 p. l., [1]-202, [1]-60 p., 8vo, $[-]^2$ A^8 a^4 $B\text{-}N^8$ O^4 P^2 $A\text{-}C^8$ (P2 blank).

The body of the work has been considerably enlarged and Sections I and II of an Appendix have been added.

Sabin 64815.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

5c. ———. ———. The Third Edition, Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged. To which is added, An Appendix, No. III. . . .

London: Printed for J. Dodsley . . . and J. Walter . . . MDCCLXVI.

14 p. l., [1]-202, [1]-60, [1]-52 p., 8vo, $[-]^2$ A^8 a^4 $B\text{-}N^8$ O^4 P^1 $A\text{-}C^8$ D^6 $E\text{-}G^8$ H^2.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as 5b with the first two preliminary leaves reset and Section III of the Appendix added at the end, pages 1-52. This last part was also issued separately as 5f.

Sabin 64816.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, RPJCB, WHi.

5d. ———. ———. The Fourth Edition. . . .

London: Printed for J. Walter . . . MDCCLXVIII.

[i]-xxxi, [1]-318, [1]-73 p., 8vo, A^8 a^8 $B\text{-}Z^8$ $Aa\text{-}Bb^8$ Cc^4 (A1 blank).

In this edition the body of the work has been enlarged and altered, Section III of 5c has been changed to the instructions sent by Pownall to Braddock and Johnson, and Sections IV and V, containing Henry VII's grant to John Cabot and the commission issued by Charles I in 1636 "erecting and establishing a board for the purpose of governing the Plantations," have been added.

Sabin 64817.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

5e. ———. ———. The Fifth Edition. In Two Volumes. . . .

London: Printed for J. Walter . . . MDCCLXXIV.

v. I: 2 p. l., i-xv, [1]-288 p., 8vo, $[-]^2$ $A\text{-}T^8$; v. II: 1 p. l., [i]-xi, [1]-308 p., 8vo, $[-]^1$ A^4 $B\text{-}U^8$ X^2.

Volume I is an altered and shortened version of 5d with chapter headings added. Volume II contains the new material of Part II and an Appendix of twelve sections, including all the sections that appear in 5d. A sixth edition was printed in 1777.

Sabin 64818.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, ViU.

5f. [———]. Considerations On The Points lately brought into question as to the Parliament's Right of Taxing the Colonies . . . Being Appendix, Section III, To The Administration of the Colonies.

London: Printed for J. Dodsley . . . and J. Walter . . . MDCCLXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-52 p., 8vo, [-]^{1} E-G^{8} H^{2}.

This is Section III of the Appendix to 5c and is printed from substantially the same setting of type with a title page added. On the basis of press marks, Mr. John Alden points out that this was probably imposed at the same time as 5c rather than printed at a later time from standing type.

Sabin 62821.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

5g. ———. The Administration Of The British Colonies. Part The Second. Wherein A Line of Government between . . . Great Britain, and the Rights of the Colonies is drawn, And A Plan of Pacification is suggested. To which is added, A Postscript, Being Remarks on the Pensylvania [*sic*] Instructions, And The "New Essay on the Constitutional Power of the Parliament over the Colonies. . . . "

London: Printed for J. Walter . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[i]-xi, [1]-171 p., 8vo, [-]^{2} a^{4} b-l^{8} m^{6}.

The pages through 150 were printed from substantially the same setting of type as the pages of 5e, vol. II; pages 151-160, "Memorial on a line of demarcation," are a reprint of pages 259-269; and pages 161-171 contain "Additions to Section I of the Appendix to the First Volume." John Alden points out that this is a reimposition from standing type. The "Postscript" is a reply to John Dickinson's *Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain,* Philadelphia, 1774, no. 110.

Sabin 64821.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB, WHi.

6. Reasons Against the Renewal Of The Sugar Act, As it will be prejudicial to the Trade, Not Only Of the Northern Colonies, But To That of Great-Britain Also.

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay. Boston: N.E. Printed for Thomas Leverett . . . MDCCLXIV.

[1]-19 p., 4to, [A]-B^{4} C^{2}.

Evans 9812, Sabin 68255.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, MHi, RPJCB, WHi.

7. [THACHER, OXENBRIDGE] 1720-1765.

The Sentiments of a British American. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1764. . . .

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for September 3, 1764. For authorship see: Clifford K. Shipton's *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, vol. X, 1958, p. 326.

Evans 9851, Sabin 95160.

Copies: DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NN, RPJCB.

8. WOOD, WILLIAM, d. 1639.

New-England's Prospect. Being A true, lively, and experimental Description of that part of America, commonly called New-England . . . The Third Edition. . . .

London, Printed 1639. Boston, New-England, Re-printed, By Thomas and John Fleet . . . and Green and Russell . . . 1764.

1 p. l., i-xviii, 1-128 p., 8vo, [a]-b^4 c^2 B-R^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for July 23, 1764. To this edition has been added a new introduction by Nathaniel Rogers which surveys the political and economic relation between Great Britain and the colonies. See also: the preface of the reprint issued by the Prince Society in 1865.

Evans 9884, Sabin 105077.

Copies: CSmH, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

1765

9a. [CHURCH, BENJAMIN] 1734-1776.

Liberty and Property vindicated, and the St—pm-n burnt. A Discourse Occasionally made, On burning the Effigy of the St—pm-n, in New-London, in the Colony of Connecticut. By a Friend to the Liberty of his Country.

Published by desire of some of the Hearers, in the Year 1765.

[1]-11 p., 4to, [A]-C^2.

This was printed in either Hartford or New London.

Evans 9929.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, DLC, PPL.

9b. [———]. ———.

Boston: Reprinted and Sold [by J. Kneeland & S. Adams] at the New Printing Office in Milk-Street, 1765.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-B⁴.

Copies: DLC, MHi, MWA.

9c. [———]. ———.

Boston: Reprinted and Sold [by J. Kneeland & S. Adams] at the New Printing Office in Milk-Street, 1766.

Same collation.

Evans 10260, Sabin 12981.

Copies: CtHWatk, DLC.

10a. [Dickinson, John] 1732-1808.

The Late Regulations Respecting The British Colonies On The Continent Of America Considered, In a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by William Bradford . . . M.DCC.LXV.

[1]-38 p., 8vo, A-E⁴ (E4 blank).

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for December 12, 1765. Two states noted: in one, page 11 ends "would generally believed without the trial"; in the other, "would be credited without the trial."

Evans 9959, Sabin 20043.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

10b. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-printed, for J. Almon . . . M.DCC.LXV.

[1]-62 p., 1 l. (last l. advts.), 8vo, A-H⁴.

In view of the date of the advertisement for the Philadelphia edition, this was probably not issued until 1766. This and no. 10c were printed by William Strahan on the order of Benjamin Franklin according to Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, 1758-1775,* Chapel Hill, 1950, p. xlix. Also issued in vol. II of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts, On the Subject of Taxing the American Colonies,* London, J. Almon, 1766, and in vol. I of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts, Lately Published in England and America, on the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies,* London, J. Almon, 1766.

Sabin 20043.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

10c. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVI.

2 p., l.,[1]-39 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-F^4.

Also issued in vol. I of *A Collection of Tracts, On the Subjects of Taxing The British Colonies in America,* London, J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 20043.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

11a. [DULANY, DANIEL] 1721-1797.

Considerations On The Propriety Of Imposing Taxes In The British Colonies, For the Purpose of raising a Revenue, by Act Of Parliament.

[Annapolis] North-America: Printed by a North-American [Jonas Green] MDCCLXV.

[1]-55 p., 4to, A-G^4.

Advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* for Thursday, October 10, 1765, to be for sale "next Monday." The advertisements in the following newspapers may have been for any of the American editions: *Pennsylvania Gazette* for December 5, 1765, *Newport Mercury* for February 17, 1766, *Pennsylvania Journal* for March 10, 1766, *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) March 10, 1766, (Rind) May 6, 1766, and *South Carolina Gazette* for June 2, 1766. For full statement of the authorship and circumstances of publication see Wroth. This is a reply to Thomas Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies,* London, 1764, no. 5, to William Knox's *The Claim of the Colonies to an Exemption from Internal Taxes,* London, 1765, no. 17, and to Soame Jenyns' *The Objections to the Taxation of our American Colonies,* London, 1765, no. 16Aa. See also: Aubrey C. Land's *The Dulany's of Maryland,* Baltimore, 1955, pp. 263-267.

Evans 9956, Wroth 255.

Copies: BM, CtHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, PHi, PP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

11b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Annapolis: Printed and Sold by Jonas Green. 1765. . . .

[1]-55 p., 4to, A-G^4.

Advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* for October 31, 1765.

Evans 9957, Sabin 21170, Wroth 256.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

11c. [———]. ———.

North-America: Printed by a North-American. New-York: Reprinted by John Holt . . . 1765.

[1]-55 p., 8vo, [A]-G⁴.

Advertised for sale in the *New-York Gazette* for October 31, 1765. The *Connecticut Courant* for March 10, 1766 advertises it as "Just published in New-York." Two states noted, one with page 2 line 4 ending "may be"; the other with the same line ending "for a."

Evans 9958, Sabin 21170.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcU, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

11d. [———]. ———.

[Annapolis?] North-America: Printed by a North-American [Jonas Green?] MDCCLXV.

[1]-90 p., 8vo, A-L⁴ M¹.

This is a reprint of no. 11a, with one addition. On page 33 there is added to a footnote the following, "N.B. It may not be amiss here to observe upon another extraordinary assertion of the writer [William Knox] of *The claim of the colonies*, with regard to *Maryland*, as the excellent author of this pamphlet has left it unnoticed." Knox is quoted as saying that Maryland was the only colony that did not claim exemption from taxation by Parliament. It is then pointed out that "as soon as their [Maryland's] assembly were called, [September 23, 1765] they (only a few weeks since) by the resolutions they entered into, and by their immediate appointment [September 24] of a committee to join the [Stamp Act] congress at *New-York*, sufficiently manifested . . . their feelings. . . ." The Committee's instructions from the Assembly were approved on September 27th, and the delegates were in attendance in New York on October 7th, when the Stamp Act Congress began. It sat until October 25th. The delegates had returned by November 27th, because on that day they submitted their expenses to the Assembly. It would appear therefore that this edition was probably printed sometime during November of 1765, before the delegates had returned. None of the other reprints of the pamphlet recorded here contain the additional footnote.

The reasons for assigning the printing to Annapolis and to Green

are as follows: The tone of the footnote sounds as though it were written by a Marylander; the Gothic type used for "North-America" and "North-American" in the imprint is the same as that used in 11a and as frequently employed by Green in imprints of other pamphlets; of the thirteen type ornaments found in this pamphlet six are also found in the other two Green editions, 11a and 11b, and three more are to be found in other Green publications of the same period. The above analysis is based on a microfilm and information very kindly supplied by the owner of the pamphlet. The film is now in the John Carter Brown Library.

Wroth 258.

Copies: Privately owned.

11e. [———]. ———.

[Boston] North America [printed by William McAlpine for John Mein, 1766].

1 p., l.,[i]-ii, [5]-47, [1] p., 8vo, [A]-F^4.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for January 30, 1766. For date and printing history see: John Alden's "The Boston Edition of Daniel Dulany's 'Considerations On The Propriety Of Imposing Taxes,'" *The New England Quarterly*, vol. XXI (1940), pp. 705-711.

Evans 9959, Sabin 21170, Wroth 257.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, PU, RPJCB.

11f. [———]. ———.

North-America Printed, London, Re-printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVI.

3 p. l., 1-69 [*i.e.* 81], [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, A^3 B-L^4, M^1.

This and no. 11g printed by William Strahan on the order of Benjamin Franklin according to Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press, 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, p. xlix.

Sabin 21170.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

11g. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint.

3 p. l., 1-81, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, A^3 B-L^4 M^1.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 11f with title page altered and number on last page corrected. This was also issued in both vol. I of *A Collection of the most Interesting Tracts, On the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies*, London, J. Almon, 1766 and in vol. I of *A Collection Of Tracts, On the Subjects Of taxing The British Colonies in America*, London, J. Almon, 1773, and in vol. I of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts, Lately Published in England and America, on the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies*, London: J. Almon, 1766.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

12a. Eliot, Andrew, 1719-1778.

A Sermon Preached Before His Excellency Francis Bernard . . . May 29th 1765. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council. . . .

Boston: Printed By Green and Russell . . . mdcclxv.

[1]-59 p., 8vo, [A]-G⁴ H².

Two states noted, one with "price two shillings" below the date, one without. The Council paid the printers £29 3*s*. 4*d*. in July of 1765 for about 700 copies. See: Rollo G. Silver's "Government Printing in Massachusetts: 1751-1801," *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. XVI (1963), p. 193.

Evans 9964, Sabin 22124.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PHi, RPJCB.

12b. ———. ———.

Boston: Printed . . . And reprinted by J. Meres . . . London. mdcclxv.

[1]-48 p., 8vo, [-]¹ B-F⁴ G² H¹.

Copies: MB, MH, MiU-C, NN.

13. [Hopkins, Stephen] 1707-1785.

A Letter To The Author Of The Halifax Letter; Occasioned by his Book, entitled, a Defence of that Letter.

[Newport] Printed [by Samuel Hall] for the Author. mdcclxv.

[1]-8 p., 8vo, [A]⁴.

A reply to Martin Howard's *A Defense Of The Letter From A Gentleman at Halifax*, Newport, 1765, no. 15. This has not been hitherto attributed to Hopkins, but internal evidence makes it clear that he

was the author. It is a defense, written in the first person, against Howard's attack on the letter Hopkins had published in the *Providence Gazette* in the issues of February 23, March 2, 9 and April 8, 1765. The pamphlet has been assigned to Hall because the type ornaments used are the same as those found in the laws of Rhode Island of the same date printed by him.

Evans 10038, Sabin 40457, Alden 332.

Copies: DLC.

14a. [HOPKINS, STEPHEN] 1707-1785.

The Rights Of Colonies Examined. . . .

Providence: Printed by William Goddard. MDCCLXV.

[1]-24 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴.

The Rhode Island Assembly ordered this to be printed on December 22, 1764. A bill for the printing is in the Rhode Island Archives, dated December 1764. The *Boston Gazette* for December 31, 1764 advertised the pamphlet for sale. Martin Howard's *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax,* Newport, 1765, no. 16, was a reply. Two issues noted, the first is the official edition and has "Printed by Authority" on the title page. The second has a three-line quotation in its place. For the pamphlet controversy set off by this, see: Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan's *The Stamp Act Crisis,* Chapel Hill [1953], p. 51 and David S. Lovejoy's *Rhode Island Politics in the American Revolution,* Providence, 1958, p. 70.

Evans 10009-10010, Sabin 32966, Alden 326-7.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

14b. [———]. The Grievances Of The American Colonies Candidly Examined. . . .

London: Reprinted for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVI. . . .

[1]-48 [*i.e.* 47], [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]² B-F⁴, G².

Two issues noted, one with last page incorrectly numbered and one with it correctly numbered. Also issued in vol. I of *A Collection Of the most Interesting Tracts On the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies,* London, J. Almon, 1766.

Sabin 32967.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

15. [Howard, Martin] d. 1781.

A Defense Of The Letter From A Gentleman at Halifax, To His Friend in Rhode-Island. . . .

Newport: Printed and Sold by Samuel Hall . . . M.DCC.LXV.

[1]-30 [*i.e.* 31] p., 4to, [A]-D⁴.

Advertised in *The Newport Mercury* for April 22, 1765. It is a reply to two attacks on Howard's earlier pamphlet, *A Letter From A Gentleman at Halifax,* no. 16. The first was a letter of Stephen Hopkins' that appeared in the *Providence Gazette* for February 23, March 2, 9 and April 8, 1765. The second was James Otis' *A Vindication Of The British Colonies, Against The Aspersions of the Halifax Gentleman,* Boston, 1765, no. 20. See Alden for the fact that Evans 10013 is a ghost.

Evans 10112, Sabin 19249, Alden 328.

Copies: DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

16. [Howard, Martin] d. 1781.

A Letter From A Gentleman at Halifax, To His Friend in Rhode-Island, Containing Remarks Upon A Pamphlet, Entitled, The Rights Of Colonies Examined.

Newport: Printed And Sold By S. Hall. M.DCC.LXV.

[1]-22 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴ (C4 blank).

Advertised in *The Newport Mercury* for February 11, 1765 as to be sold on the 13th. It is a reply to Stephen Hopkins' *The Rights of Colonies Examined,* Providence, 1765, no. 14.

Evans 10011, Sabin 40286, Alden 329.

Copies: DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MWA, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

16Aa. [Jenyns, Soame] 1704-1787.

The Objections To The Taxation of our American Colonies, By The Legislature of Great Britain, Briefly Consider'd.

London: Printed for J. Wilkie . . . 1765. . . .

[1]-20 p., 4to, A-B⁴ C².

Reprinted in the *Newport Mercury* for May 27, 1765 and the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for June 13th. It was also reprinted in the third edition of Jenyns' *Miscellaneous Pieces in Verse and Prose,* London, 1770. Daniel Dulany's *Considerations,* Annapolis, 1765, no. 11, was in part a reply to this as was James Otis' "Considerations on Behalf of the Colonists," first printed in the *Boston Gazette* in 1765 and in the same year published twice as a pamphlet in London.

Sabin 36053.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

16Ab. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint.

[1]-23 p., 8vo, A-C^4.

Sabin 36053.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

17a. [KNOX, WILLIAM] 1732-1810.

The Claim Of The Colonies To An Exemption from Internal Taxes Imposed By Authority of Parliament, Examined: In a Letter from a Gentleman in London, to his Friend in America.

London, Printed for W. Johnston . . . MDCCLXV.

1 p. l., 1-46 p., 8vo, [A]^1 B-F^4 G^3.

An extract was published in the *Georgia Gazette* for August 8, 1765. Ebenezer Devotion's *The Examiner Examined*, New London, 1766, no. 26, was a reply as was part of Daniel Dulany's *Considerations*, Annapolis, 1765, no. 11. Knox's authorship is established by a copy he had specially bound, with four other pamphlets, for presentation to Lord Walsingham. It is listed in the catalogue of the George C. F. Williams Library, Anderson Galleries Catalogue no. 2075, May 17, 18, 1926, lot no. 403. Knox continued his arguments started here in *A Letter To A Member of Parliament, Wherein the Power of the British Legislature, and the Case of the Colonists, Are briefly and impartially considered*, London, 1765.

Sabin 38180.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

17b. [———]. ———.

London: MDCCLXV.

[1]-48 p., 8vo, A-F^4.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN.

18. MOORE, MAURICE, d. 1777.

The Justice And Policy Of Taxing The American Colonies, In Great-Britain, Considered. Wherein is shewed, That the Colonists are not a

conquered People:—That they are constitutionally intituled to be taxed only by their own Consent:—And that the imposing a Stamp-Duty on the Colonists is as impolitic as it is inconsistent with their Rights. . . .

Wilmington, North-Carolina Printed by Andrew Steuart . . . MDCCLXV.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]^{8}.

Plate II.

Evans 10076.

Copies: NcU, RPJCB.

19. [Otis, James] 1725-1783.

Brief Remarks on the Defence of the Halifax Libel, On The British-American-Colonies. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . M,DCC,LXV.

[1]-40 p., 8vo, [A]-E^{4}.

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for May 6, 1765. It is a reply to Martin Howard's *A Defense of the Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax*, Newport, 1765, no. 15.

Evans 10116, Sabin 7889.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, NN, RPB, RPJCB.

Otis, James. *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted.* London [1765], see: 4b.

20a. [Otis, James] 1725-1783.

A Vindication Of The British Colonies, Against The Aspersions of the Halifax Gentleman, In His Letter to a Rhode-Island Friend.

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1765.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]-D^{4}.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 21, 1765, in the *Newport Mercury* for March 25th, and in the *Providence Gazette* for April 8th. It is a reply to Martin Howard's *A Letter From a Gentleman at Halifax*, Newport, 1765, no. 16.

Evans 10117, Sabin 57868.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

20b. ———. A Vindication Of The British Colonies. Published by Mr. Otis, at Boston. . . .

Boston, printed: London, re-printed for J. Almon . . . 1769. . . .

2 p. l., [1]-48 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-G^4.

Sabin 57868.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, ICN, MH, MHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

20c. ———. ———. By James Otis, Esq; of Boston.

Same imprint and collation.

Signature [A] has been reset but the rest has been printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 20b. Also issued in vol. II of *A Collection Of Tracts On The Subjects Of Taxing The British Colonies In America,* London, J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 57868.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

POWNALL, THOMAS. *The Administration of the Colonies, The Second Edition.* London, 1765, see: 5b.

21a. [WHATELY, THOMAS] d. 1772.

The Regulations Lately Made concerning the Colonies, And The Taxes Imposed upon Them, considered.

London: Printed for J. Wilkie . . . 1765.

2 p. l., 3-114 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-P^4.

An extract of this appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for April 11, 1765 and in the *Newport Mercury* for April 22, 1765. Richard Bland's *An Inquiry Into the Rights of the British Colonies,* Williamsburg, 1766, no. 22Aa, was a reply as was, in part, Daniel Dulany's *Considerations,* no. 11. Despite the attribution to Grenville on the title page of the "Third Edition," no. 21b, we now know that Whately was the author. See: *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (6th series), vol. IX, p. 77.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PP, PPL, RPJCB.

21b. [———]. ———. By The Late Right Hon. George Grenville. The Third Edition.

London: Printed for J. Wilkie . . . 1775. . . .

[1]-64, 67-114 p., 8vo, B-P^4.

Logically, there should be a "Second Edition," but no copy has been found. In reprinting this ten years after the original edition, the

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THE

EXAMINATION

OF

Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

BEFORE AN

AUGUST ASSEMBLY,

Relating to the REPEAL of the STAMP-ACT, &c.

WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed and Sold by WILLIAM RIND, oppoſite the CAPITOL.

III. The Williamsburg edition of Franklin's *Examination*, George Washington's copy, no. 31d, The Boston Athenæum.

The STAMP-ACT REPEALED;

A

SERMON,

Preached in the MEETING at SAVANNAH in GEORGIA, June 25th, 1766.

By J. J. ZUBLY, V. D. M.

Published at the Request and Expence of the Hearers.

Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty as an occasion to the flesh.
But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. GALAT. v. 13, 15.

SAVANNAH: Printed by JAMES JOHNSTON.

M,DCC,LXVI.

IV. John Joachim Zubly's *The Stamp-Act Repealed*, no. 46a, the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

publisher may have mistakenly thought he had issued a second edition.

Sabin 28771.

Copies: MH, RPJCB.

1766

22. Appleton, Nathaniel, 1693-1784.

A Thanksgiving Sermon On The Total Repeal Of The Stamp-Act. Preached In Cambridge, New-England, May 20th. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1766.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]-D⁴.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for May 29, 1766.

Evans 10230, Sabin 1840.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PPAmP, RPJCB.

22Aa. [Bland, Richard] 1710-1776.

An Inquiry Into The Rights of the British Colonies, Intended as an Answer to The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes imposed upon them considered. . . .

Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie, & Co. M.DCC.LXVI.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D⁴.

Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for March 14, 1766, where it is stated that Bland is the author. It is a reply to Thomas Whately's *The Regulations Lately Made*, London, 1765, no. 21. See also: Clinton Rossiter's "Richard Bland: The Whig in America," *William & Mary Quarterly* (3rd series), vol. X (1953), p. 50-53.

Evans 10244, Sabin 5859.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, NHi, RPJCB.

22Ab. [———]. An Enquiry [&c.]. . . .

Williamsburg, Printed . . . London, Re-printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXIX.

[5]-20, 17-19 p., 8vo, B-C⁴ D².

Caption-title, imprint on last page.

Also issued in vol. I of *A Collection of Tracts, On The Subjects of Taxing The British Colonies In America*, London, J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 5859.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NcD, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

23. Candid Observations On Two Pamphlets lately published, Viz. "An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados. . . ." And "An Essay towards the Vindication of the Committee of Correspondence. . . . By a Native of Barbados. . . .

Barbados: Printed by George Esmand and Comp. MDCCLXVI.

[1]-37 p., 8vo, A-D^4 E^3.

Extracts appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 15 and 22, 1768, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for September 12 and October 3, 1768, and the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 15, and 27, 1768. It is a reply to John Dickinson's *An Address to the Committee*, Philadelphia, 1766, no. 27, and to Kenneth Morrison's *An Essay Towards the Vindication*, Barbados, 1766, no. 36.

Sabin 3262.

Copies: PPL, RPJCB.

24. CHAUNCY, CHARLES, 1705-1787.

A Discourse On "the good News from a far Country." Deliver'd July 24th. A Day of Thanks-giving . . . on Occasion of the Repeal of the Stamp-Act. . . .

Boston: N. E. Printed by Kneeland and Adams . . . for Thomas Leverett . . . MDCCLXVI.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Evans 10255, Sabin 12315, Ford-*Chauncy* 40.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

25. Considerations Upon The Rights of the Colonists To The Privileges Of British Subjects, Introduced by a brief Review of the Rise and Progress of English Liberty, and concluded with some Remarks upon our present Alarming Situation. . . .

New-York: Printed and sold by John Holt . . . 1766.

1 p. l., [i]-ii, [1]-4, 9-27 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 $[D]^2$.

Advertised for sale in the *Newport Mercury* for March 31, 1766. Dedication dated December 16, 1765.

Evans 10273, Sabin 16034.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, NHi, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

26a. [Devotion, Ebenezer] 1714-1771.

The Examiner Examined. A Letter From a Gentleman in Connecticut, To his Friend in London. In Answer to a Letter from a Gentleman in London, to his Friend in America: Intitled, The Claim of the Colonies to an Exemption from Internal Taxes imposed by Authority of Parliament, examined.

New-London: Printed and Sold by Timothy Green. mdcclxvi.

[1]-24 p., 4to, [A]-B^2 C^4 D^2.

Advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* for May 12, 1766. A reply to William Knox's *The Claim of the Colonies*, London, 1765, no. 17. Attribution from Evans.

Evans 10280, Sabin 23375.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

26b. [———]. ———.

New-London, Printed: New-Haven, Re-printed, and sold by Samuel Green . . . mdcclxvi.

Same collation.

Printed from same setting of type as no. 26a with altered imprint.

Evans 10281.

Copies: CtHWatk, DLC, NHi.

27. [Dickinson, John] 1732-1808.

An Address To The Committee of Correspondence In Barbados. Occasioned by a late letter from them To Their Agent in London. By A North-American. . . .

Philadelphia. Printed and Sold by William Bradford . . . m,dcc,lxvi.

1 p. l., [i]-vi, [1]-18 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 D^1.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for May 29, 1766, as "Tomorrow" will be published. The letter of the Committee was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 1, 1766 and an extract of it appeared in the *Georgia Gazette* for June 11, 1766. This pamphlet was reprinted in the *South Carolina Gazette* for July 8, 1766.

Evans 10283, Sabin 20036.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

[Dickinson, John]. *The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies.* London, 1766, see: 10c.

28. A Discourse, Address To The Sons of Liberty, At a Solemn Assembly, near Liberty-Tree, in Providence, February 14, 1766.

Providence, in New-England: Printed and sold by Sarah and William Goddard . . . [1766].

[1]-8 p., 8vo, [A]^4.

Signed at the end "Pro Patria." Alden notes three variants. In addition to the above issue there is one with "Newport" and another with "Boston" in place of "Providence" in the title. George P. Winship suggests John Alpin as a possible author in his *Rhode Island Imprints*, Providence, 1914, p. 21.

Evans 10286, Sabin 20237, Alden 348.

Copies: ("Providence") PHi, PPL, ("Newport") RPJCB, ("Boston") NN.

[DULANY, DANIEL]. *Considerations On the Propriety of Imposing Taxes In the British Colonies.* Boston, 1766, see: 11e.

[———]. ———. London, 1766, see: 11f, 11g.

29. EMERSON, JOSEPH, 1724-1775.

A Thanksgiving-Sermon Preach'd at Pepperrell, July 24th. 1766. A Day set apart by public Authority As a Day of Thanksgiving On the Account of the Repeal Of The Stamp-Act. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . MDCCLXVI.

[1]-37 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 (E4 blank).

Evans 10293, Sabin 22446.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NN, RPJCB.

30. [FITCH, THOMAS] ca. 1700?-1774.

Some Reasons That Influenced The Governor To Take, And The Councillors To Administer The Oath, Required by the Act of Parliament; commonly called the Stamp Act. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Publick MDCCLXVI.

Hartford: Printed and sold by Thomas Green [1766].

[1]-14 p., 8vo, A-B^4 (B4 blank).

Advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* for March 24, 1766. This defense of Governor Fitch's actions is attributed to him in the article on him in the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

Evans 10297, Sabin 24589, 86728.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

31a. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons.

The Examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, before an August Assembly, relating to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act, &c.

[Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1766].

1-16 p., 8vo, A^8.

Caption-title.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 18, 1766. In assigning imprints to the first three American editions (nos. 31a to c) Ford has been followed. The absence of type ornaments or other distinguishing features in all three printings and our present state of ignorance about the types used by American printers make it impossible to make an absolute assignment. Therefore, it was thought best to leave Ford's order undisturbed. However, one tentative conclusion is offered about no. 31b. *The Examination* was also reprinted in various colonial newspapers; see note under no. 113. In addition to the collation this printing can be distinguished by the two thin rules at the head of the title.

This rather than the London edition listed by Ford as no. 287 is the first printing. For status of London printings see no. 31e. The first clue about this printing is to be found in a letter from William Strahan, the London printer and friend of Franklin, to the Philadelphia printer David Hall, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. X (1886). On April 7, 1766, almost two months after the day of the examination, February 13th, Strahan promised to send Hall a copy as soon as he received it from the Clerk of the House. From the way in which he expressed himself, it is clear that he had not seen the text. On May 10th he wrote Hall, "Herewith I send you, what I promised in my last, Dr. Franklin's *Examination* before the House of Commons, which I have at last procured with great Difficulty, and with some Expense. . . . If you determine to print it either in a Pamphlet by itself, or in your Paper (the former I think the best way) do not say *as taken by the Clerk of the House;* that would be highly improper, and might bring my Friend, who favoured me with it, into an ugly Scrape. You need only call it, *An Examination before a Great Assembly*, or by some such *General Title.* . . . If you do print it, however, in any Shape, pray send me a Dozen Copies of it, directed to Dr. F. to save Postage."

Evans 10300, Sabin 25501, Ford *Franklin* 290.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

31b. ———. ———.

[New York: James Parker, 1766].

1-16 p., 8vo, A-B⁴.

Caption-title.

Advertised in the *New-York Mercury* for September 29, 1766. This may have been set from no. 31a. It is almost a line-for-line copy. However, most of the hyphenations have been eliminated by what appears to be a more careful spacing of the type. In addition to the collation this printing can be distinguished by the thick and the thin rule at the top of the title.

Evans 10301, Ford *Franklin* 291.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, MH, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

31c. ———. ———.

[Boston: T. & J. Fleet, 1766].

1-23 p., 8vo, A-C⁴.

Caption-title.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for October 2, 1766 and in the *Newport Mercury* for October 13th. In addition to the collation this printing can be distinguished by the thin and the thick rule at the top of the title.

Ford no. 294 also lists another Boston edition of 1766 with 108 pages. He copied it from Haven's "Catalogue of Publications In what is now the United States Prior to the Revolution," in Isaiah Thomas' *The History of Printing in America, The Second Edition,* Albany, 1874, vol. II, p. 588. No copy has been located. This fact together with the large number of pages makes it likely that the entry is a ghost.

Evans 10302, Sabin 25501 note, Ford *Franklin* 292.

Copies: CtY, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

31d. ———. ———.

Williamsburg: Printed and Sold by William Rind . . . [1766].

[1]-33 p. ?, 4to, A-I²? (I2 blank?).

Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind) for December 4, 1766. The collation is hypothesized from the incomplete copy in MBAt which has only 32 pages. Only the last three questions addressed to Frank-

lin are missing and it is not likely that they would have occupied more than a single page. Plate III.

Evans 10303, Ford *Franklin* 293.

Copies: MBAt.

31e. ———. The Examination of Dr. Benjamin Franklin before an Honourable Assembly, relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act, in MDCCLXVI.

[London: J. Almon] MDCCLXVII. . . .

1 p. l., 1-50 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-G^{4} H^{1}.

Verner Crane, in his *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, pp. 73-75, gives a summary account of the publication of the London editions. According to Ford no. 287 the first edition of the *Examination* was printed in London in 1766, without imprint, fifty pages long and with a caption-title reading: The | Examination | of | Doctor Benjamin Franklin, &c. |. He says that Almon issued the pamphlet in this form because he feared prosecution for publishing Parliamentary proceedings, and that in the following year the printer grew bolder and added the title pages described above and in the next item, no. 31f. Ford by the arrangement of his editions implies that the American printings were copied from the title pageless London edition. It is now clear that this latter assumption is not true because we know that the Philadelphia edition was printed from a manuscript supplied by the Clerk of the House.

There is good reason to believe that all the London editions were taken from one of the American ones, perhaps from one of the Philadelphia copies requested from Hall by Strahan, mentioned in the note to 31a. All London editions, even the known copies without a title page, were printed from the same setting of type. A textual comparison between them and the Philadelphia printing shows only six changes, five of which were clearly conscious improvements of the text.

Philadelphia	*London*
p. 10 line 58 there are, but	p. 31 line 19 there are three, but
p. 11 line 36 to any internal	p. 33 lines 21 & 22 to an internal
p. 13 line 15 send troops	p. 39 line 6 sends troops

Philadelphia	*London*
p. 14 line 18 has occurred	p. 41 line 21 has accrued
p. 15 line 51 hold neither	p. 47 line 16 lay neither

The sixth change is found on page 17, line 18 of the London edition. The word "internal" is changed to "external" thus making the sentence completely meaningless, and was in all probability a typesetter's mistake. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that someone in London, perhaps Franklin himself, made the improvements for the English edition. We know that he had a hand in its publication because on the 8th of August, 1767, he wrote Joseph Galloway "Our friends here have thought that a Publication of my *Examination* here might answer some of the above Purposes, by removing Prejudices, refuting Falsehoods, and demonstrating our Merits with regard to this Country. It is accordingly printed and has a great Run." Crane points out that the earliest appearance of a reprint of the text in a London magazine was in July of 1767. The text of all the magazine appearances follows the London edition. On the basis of this it is reasonable to assert that there was no English edition of the pamphlet until the middle of 1767.

Ford's hypothesis that Almon issued the pamphlet first without a title page cannot be absolutely disposed of although we can be sure that he was wrong in assigning it to the year 1766. It is possible that the known copies (CSmH, CtY, MiU-C, PPAmP, PU) are simply imperfect copies of either this edition or no. 31f. The two copies that Ford records (PPL, NN) are not reported to be in those two libraries today. Even if the above existing copies were stitched and uncut as originally issued, it would be impossible to tell whether a title page had been removed at a later date because the rest of the pamphlet is identical to the two other London issues.

There is, however, a more indirect way of discounting this part of Ford's theory. The wording of this, no. 31e, title page is as innocuous as the one requested by Strahan for the American edition. Indeed the titles are almost the same except that the word "August" has been changed to "Honourable," a more proper term to use for the House of Commons. In the second version of the title, no. 31f, the printer, if anything, becomes more cautious for there he omits even the indirect reference to Parliament. Indeed it could be argued that if Almon did issue the pamphlet with only the caption-title, which also omits a reference to the Stamp Act, he did so last because he became even more cautious. This would be pure conjecture, but

the argument is no less compelling than the one Ford uses for putting the version first.

Ford *Franklin* 289 & errata on p. xi.

Copies: MH, PPL, WHi.

31f. ———. The Examination Of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, Relative to the Repeal Of The American Stamp Act, In MDCCLXVI.

[London: J. Almon] MDCCLXVII. . . .

Same collation.

The same sheets as no. 31e with a variant title page. Inspection of two stitched and uncut copies makes it clear that the title page and the last page were never conjugate. It is this version of the title that is used in the reprint of the *Examination* in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine* for July 1767 and in Benjamin Vaughan's edition of Franklin's *Political, Miscellaneous, Philosophical Pieces*, London, 1779. It is also the wording used in vol. III of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts, Lately Published in England and America, On the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies*, London, J. Almon, 1767. Smyth in his reprint in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 1906, vol. IV, pp. 413-448 gives, in footnotes, ten changed readings which he says are from the "second edition." None of these appear in any of the editions described here or in the reprints mentioned above. I have been unable to determine where Smyth found this version.

Sabin 25502, Ford *Franklin* 288.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

31g. ———. Die Verhörung Doctor Benjamin Franklins vor der Hohen Versammlung der Hauses der Gemeinen vor Grossbrittannien, die Stämpel-Act, &c.

Philadelphia, Gedruckt und zu finden bey H. Miller . . . 1766.

[1]-43 p., 8vo, A-E^4 F^2.

The undated French translation, *Interrogatoire De Mr. Franklin*, with a Strasbourg imprint tentatively assigned to 1767 by Ford 296 and Sabin 25504, was not printed until 1777 according to an unpublished letter in the American Philosophical Society from the translator Charles De Hirschberg to Franklin, dated October 23, 1777.

Evans 10304, Sabin 25503, Ford *Franklin* 297.

Copies: CtY, PHi, PPL.

[HOPKINS, STEPHEN]. *The Grievances of the American Colonies Candidly Examined.* London, 1766, see: 14b.

32. INGERSOLL, JARED, 1722-1781.

Mr. Ingersoll's Letters Relating To The Stamp-Act.

New-Haven: Printed and sold by Samuel Green . . . M,DCC,LXVI.

1 p. l., [i]-iv, [1]-68 p., 4to, [-]^{1} A-S^{2}.

Advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* for October 13, 1766, and reprinted in the *Boston Evening Post* between October 27 and November 24, 1766. See also: Lawrence H. Gipson's *Jared Ingersoll,* New Haven, 1920, p. 380.

Evans 10342, Sabin 34744.

Copies: CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

OTIS, JAMES. *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted.* London, 1766, see: 4c, 4d, 4e.

33. [JOHNSON, STEPHEN] 1724-1786.

Some Important Observations, Occasioned by, and adapted to, The Publick Fast, Ordered by Authority, December 18th, A.D. 1765. On Account of the Peculiar Circumstances of the present Day. . . .

Newport: Printed and sold by Samuel Hall. 1766.

1 p. l., [1]-61 p., 4to, [-]^{2} A-G^{4} H^{2}.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for March 31, 1766. Attributed to Johnson by Evans. Evans 10434 is a ghost entry for this.

Evans 10346, Sabin 36323, Alden 351.

Copies: MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, PPAmP, RPB, RPJCB.

34. A Letter To The North American, On Occasion of his Address To The Committee of Correspondence In Barbados. By a Native of the Island.

Barbados: Printed by George Esmand and Comp. M.DCC.LXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-47 p., 8vo, [-]^{2} A-F^{4} (F4 blank).

A reply to John Dickinson's *An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados,* Philadelphia, 1766, no. 27.

Sabin 20038.

Copies: DLC, MH, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

35a. Mayhew, Jonathan, 1720-1766.

The Snare broken. A Thanksgiving-Discourse, Preached . . . May 23, 1766. Occasioned By The Repeal Of The Stamp-Act. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by R. & S. Draper . . . Edes & Gill . . . and T. & J. Fleet . . . 1766.

[i]-viii, 1-44 p., 8vo, [A]-F⁴ G².

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for May 29, 1766.

Evans 10388, Sabin 47148.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

35b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Boston: Re-Printed and Sold by R. & S. Draper . . . Edes & Gill . . . and T. & J. Fleet . . . 1766.

[i]-viii, 9-52 p., 8vo, [A]-F⁴ G².

Evans 10389, Sabin 47148.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PPL, RPJCB.

35c. ———. ———.

Boston Printed, and London reprinted, for G. Kearsly . . . [1766?].

[i]-vi, [1]-41 p., 8vo, A³ B-C⁸ D⁵.

Sabin 47148.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

36. [Morrison, Kenneth] d. 1780.

An Essay Towards the Vindication Of The Committee of Correspondence In Barbados, From the Aspersions and Calumnies thrown upon them in an anonymous Piece, Printed in Philadelphia, under the Title of an Address to them, occasioned by their Letter to their Agent in London . . . By a Barbadian. . . .

Barbados: Printed by George Esmand and Comp. M,DCC,LXVI.

[1]-26 p., 8vo, A-C⁴ D¹.

A reply to John Dickinson's *An Address to the Committee of Correspondence,* Philadelphia, 1766, no. 27. In a contemporary hand on the RPJCB copy is the notation that this is by "The Rev. Mr. Morison." For discussion of this pamphlet and Morrison see: the John Carter Brown Library *Annual Report,* 1957-58, pp. 22-26 and William Dickson's *Letters on Slavery,* London, 1789, p. 45.

Sabin 3267.

Copies: PHi, RPJCB.

37. MÜHLENBERG, HEINRICH MELCHIOR, 1711-1782.

[Ein Zeugniss von der Güte und Ernst (*sic*) Gottes gegen sein Bundesvolk in Alten und neuen Zeiten und des Volkes Undankbarkeit, gelegentlich des Dankfestes wegen Aufhebung der Stempel-Acte 1. August 1766. . . .]

[Philadelphia: Gedruckt by Henrich Miller, 1766].

From Evans, a copy is said to be in NN but it cannot be located. However, it is known that Mühlenberg was concerned about the Stamp Act. In his *Journals*, translated by Tappert and Doberstein, 1942-1945, vol. II, p. 318, there is an entry for March 30, 1767, in which he says that in a letter of that date to William Pasche he "Mentioned that since June of last year I wrote letters dated September 18, 19, and 20 and sent them together with a small box of tracts pertaining to the Repeal of the Stamp Act, to Messrs. Mildred and Roberts, merchants in London."

Evans 10401.

38a. The Necessity Of Repealing The American Stamp-Act Demonstrated: Or, A Proof that Great-Britain must be injured by that Act. In a Letter to a Member of the British House of Commons. . . .

London: Printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVI. . . .

[1]-46 p., 1 l. (last l. advts.), 8vo, A-F^4.

Also issued in vol. II of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts On the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies*, London, J. Almon, 1766.

Sabin 52213.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

38b. ———.

London; Printed. Boston Re-Printed, and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1766.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for February 24, 1766 and in the *Connecticut Courant* for March 10, 1766 as "just published in Boston."

Evans 10402, Sabin 52213.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

39. Patten, William, 1738-1775.

A Discourse Delivered at Hallifax [*sic*] In the County of Plymouth, July 24th 1766. On the Day of Thanks-giving . . . for the Repeal of the Stamp-Act. . . .

Boston: N. E. Printed by D. Kneeland . . . for Thomas Leverett . . . MDCCLXVI.

[1]-22 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 (C4 blank).

Evans 10440, Sabin 59121.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, RPB, RPJCB.

40a. Pennsylvania. University.

Four Dissertations, On The Reciprocal Advantages Of A Perpetual Union Between Great-Britain And Her American Colonies. Written For Mr. Sargent's Prize Medal. To which (by Desire) is prefixed, An Eulogium, Spoken on the Delivery of the Medal at the Public Commencement in the College of Philadelphia, May 20th, 1766.

Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford . . . M,DCC,LXVI.

[i]-x, [i]-viii, 1-12, [1-2], [1]-112 p., 8vo, A^4 a-c^4 A-O^4.

Although the *Pennsylvania Journal* of June 5, 1766 describes this as "In press and to be published by subscription," the first announcement of its actual publication appears in the *Journal* for October 23, 1766. Also advertised in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* for November 28, 1766. The dissertations are by John Morgan, Stephen Watts, Joseph Reed, and Francis Hopkinson. The Eulogium is by Provost William Smith. Mr. Sargent was a Bristol merchant who had given the money for the medal instead of making a contribution to the support of the college when asked by Smith during a fund-raising trip to England. Sargent specified that union with Great Britain was to be the topic of the dissertation.

Evans 10400, Sabin 84611.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPRos, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

40b. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed. London Re-printed, For T. Payne . . . and D. Wilson . . . [1766?].

1 p. l., [i]-viii, 1-12, [1-2], [1]-112 p., 8vo, a-c^4 A-O^4.

Sabin 84612.

Copies: BM, CtY, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

41a. [PITT, WILLIAM, 1st Earl of Chatham] 1708-1788.

Political Debates.

A Paris [*i.e.* London], Chez J. W. Imprimeur . . . MDCCLXVI. . . .

1 p. l., [1]-18 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-C^{4} [D]^{1}.

William Hick's *The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power*, Philadelphia, 1768, is a reply to this speech on the repeal of the Stamp-Act. For a discussion of the unreliability of the reporting of this and other Parliamentary debates see: Basil Williams' *The Life of William Pitt*, 1913, vol. II, p. 337. These remarks were also frequently reprinted with other speeches of the period, but only separately printed editions have been included here. The original circulation of the libraries for the census of copies did not distinguish between this and no. 41b. Therefore, some of the copies listed thereunder may actually be this edition.

Sabin 63761.

Copies: MB, MiU-C.

41b. [———]. ——— [with a four-line quotation from "The Great Commoner"].

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-18 p., 8vo, [A]^{2} B-C^{4} [D]^{2} ([D]2 blank).

This edition was entirely reset. Other distinguishing features are the following different catch words. The ones for no. 41a are given first: p. 6—Ber!, Number!; p. 8—confirmed, firmed; p. 12—ed, and.

Sabin 63761.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, NcD, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

41c. [———]. The Celebrated Speech of A Celebrated Commoner. . . .

London: Printed for Stephen Austin, in Ludgate Street. MDCCLXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-18 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-C^{4} [D]^{1}.

The body of this was printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 41b. However, the title page, the first two pages, and the last two pages were reset.

Sabin 63066.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

41d. [———]. ———. A New Edition, Corrected.
Same imprint.
[1]-17 p., 8vo, B-C⁴.
Sabin 63066.
Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB.

41e. [———]. ———. A New Edition.
London: Printed for J. Bew . . . MDCCLXXV.
[1]-22 p., 8vo, [A]-C⁴ (C4 blank).
Copies: BM, MiU-C, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

Pownall, Thomas. *The Administration of the Colonies. The Third Edition.* London, 1766, see: 5c.

———. *Considerations On the Points Lately Brought into Question as to the Parliament's Right of Taxing the Colonies.* London, 1766, see: 5g.

42a. [Ray, Nicholas].
The Importance Of The Colonies of North America, And the Interest of Great Britain with regard to them, Considered. Together with Remarks on the Stamp-Duty. . . .
London: Printed for T. Peat . . . 1766.
2 p. l., [1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-E².
Sabin 68030.
Copies: CSmH, CtY, MH, MHi, MiU-C, RPJCB.

42b. ———. ———. By Nicholas Ray.
Same imprint and collation.
Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 42a.
Copies: MBAt, MH, MiU-C.

42c. ———. ———. By Nicholas Ray, now of London; a Native, and formerly a Citizen of New-York.
London, printed: New-York, re-printed, 1766. By John Holt . . . At the Cost of the Author . . . for the Benefit of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture, in New-York.
2 p. l., [1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-E².
Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for February 17, 1766, the *Penn-*

sylvania Journal for March 10, 1766 and the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for April 18, 1766.

Evans 10471, Sabin 68031.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

43. ROWLAND, DAVID SHERMAN, 1719-1794.

Divine Providence Illustrated and Improved. A Thanksgiving-Discourse, Preached . . . June 4, 1766 Being His Majesty's Birth Day, and Day of Rejoicing, Occasioned By The Repeal Of The Stamp-Act. . . .

Providence, (New-England) Printed by Sarah Goddard, and Company. [1766].

2 p. l., [i]-viii, [1]-31 p., 8vo, [-]^2 [A]-E^4.

Evans 10483, Sabin 73557, Alden 359.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

43Aa. STAMP ACT CONGRESS, New York, 1765.

Proceedings Of The Congress At New-York.

Annapolis: Printed by Jonas Green, Printer to the Province. MDCCLXVI.

[1]-28 p., fol., A-G^6.

Caption-title, imprint on p. 28.

Advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* for September 11, 1766. This is the report of the Maryland delegates to the Congress delivered to the Maryland House of Representatives on November 27, 1766. See also: Lawrence C. Wroth's "The Bibliographical Way," *The Colophon, New Series*, vol. III (Spring, 1938), pp. 228-229.

Evans 10424, Sabin 65831, Wroth 273.

Copies: DLC, RPJCB.

43Ab. ———. Authentic Account Of The Proceedings Of The Congress Held At New-York, In MDCCLXV, On the Subject of the American Stamp Act.

[London: J. Almon] MDCCLXVII. . . .

1 p. l., 1-37 p., 8vo, B-F^4.

A reprint of no. 43Aa with the instructions to each of the delegations omitted. Also issued in vol. III of *A Collection of the Most Interesting Tracts, Lately Published in England and America, On the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies*, London, J. Almon, 1767.

Sabin 53537.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, NcU, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

44. Stillman, Samuel, 1737-1803.

Good News from a far Country. A Sermon Preached at Boston, May 17. 1766. Upon the Arrival of the important News Of The Repeal of the Stamp-Act. . . .

Boston: Printed by Kneeland and Adams . . . for Philip Freeman . . . MDCCLXVI.

[1]-34 p., 4to, [A]-D^4 E^2 (E2 blank).

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for June 16, 1766.

Evans 10503, Sabin 91796.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

45. Throop, Benjamin, 1712-1785.

A Thanksgiving Sermon, Upon the Occasion, of the glorious Newes of the repeal of the Stamp Act; Preached in New-Concord, in Norwich, June 26, 1766. . . .

New-London: Printed by Timothy Green, MDCCLXVI.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B^4.

Evans 10506, Sabin 95761.

Copies: DLC, MWA, NN.

46a. Zubly, John Joachim, 1724-1781.

The Stamp-Act Repealed; A Sermon, Preached in the Meeting at Savannah in Georgia, June 25th, 1766. . . .

Savannah: Printed by James Johnston. M,DCC,LXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-30 p., 4to, [-]^1 A-C^4 D^3.

Half-title reads: Mr. Zubly's Sermon On the Repeal Of The Stamp-Act. Plate IV.

Evans 10529, Sabin 106392.

Copies: MH.

46b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Advertised in the *Georgia Gazette* for August 27, 1766.

Evans 10530, Sabin 106393.

Copies: DLC, MWA, NHi.

46c. ———. ———.

Georgia printed, South-Carolina, Re-Printed by Peter Timothy. M,DCC,LXVI, and to be sold at Mr. John Edwards, and Mr. Edward Jones's Store, in Charles-Town.

[1]-24 p., 4to, A-C^4.

Advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* for August 11, 1766. Evans 10532 lists a Philadelphia edition printed by Henry Miller without collation or location. No copy has been located. It is probably a ghost. Perhaps Evans confused it with no. 204a.

Evans 10531, Sabin 106393.

Copies: MBAt.

1767

47. CHARLESTON, S. C., MERCHANTS.

A Representation Of Facts, Relative to the Conduct of Daniel Moore, Esquire; Collector of His Majesty's Customs at Charles-Town, In South Carolina . . . Transmitted By the Merchants of Charles-Town, To Charles Garth . . . Agent for the Province of South-Carolina; And Recommended in a Letter from the Honourable The Committee of Correspondence.

Charles-Town, South-Carolina: Printed by Charles Crouch . . . 1767.

[i]-vii, [1], [3]-38 p., fol., [a-b]^2 [A]-I^2.

This was the opening publication in the series dealing with the actions of the Charleston, S. C. customs-house officers that led to the charges of fraud and the exchange between Henry Laurens and Sir Egerton Leigh, nos. 57 and 66. For a partial discussion see: Oliver M. Dickerson's *The Navigation Acts And the American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1951, pp. 224-231; Leila Sellers' *Charleston Business on the Eve of the Revolution*, Chapel Hill, 1934, pp. 49-50; and Carl Ubbelohde's *The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution*, Chapel Hill, 1960. All of these studies, however, omit this pamphlet although it is clearly a part of the incident.

Evans 10748, Sabin 50342.

Copies: BM, MiU-C, RPJCB.

48a. [COLDEN, CADWALLADER] 1688-1776.

The Conduct Of Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, Late Lieutenant-

Governor Of New York: Relating To The Judges Commissions, Appeals To The King, And The Stamp-Duty.

[London] Printed In the Year MDCCLXVII.

1 p. l., [1]-66 p., 8vo, [-]^{1} A-H^{4} [I]^{1}.

For discussion of authorship and printing, see *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. X (1877), pp. 132-176. In the RPJCB copy in the handwriting of Lawrence C. Wroth is the following statement: "Wilberforce Eames says this is the London edition."

Sabin 14276.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, ICN, InU, MH, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, RPJCB.

48b. [———]. ———.

[New York] Printed in the Year MDCCLXVII.

2 p. l., [2]-56 p., 8vo, [-]^{2} A^{2} B-G^{4} H^{2}.

In the RPJCB copy in the handwriting of Lawrence C. Wroth is the following statement: "Wilberforce Eames says this is the New York edition."

Evans 10582.

Copies: DLC, NHi, PPL, RPJCB.

49. The Commercial Conduct Of the Province of New-York Considered, And The True Interest of that Colony attempted to be shewn. In a Letter to The Society of Arts, Agriculture, and Oeconomy.

Printed for the Benefit of the Society of Arts, Agriculture, and Oeconomy, of New-York. 1767.

[i]-iv, 5-20 p., 4to, [A]-E^{2}.

An abstract appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for December 4, 1767 and in the *Newport Mercury* for December 28, 1767.

Evans 10584, Sabin 14971.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL.

50. CUMINGS, HENRY, 1737-1823.

A Thanksgiving Sermon Preached at Billerica, November 27. 1766. . . .

Boston: N. E. Printed by Kneeland and Adams . . . for Thomas Leverett . . . MDCCLXVII.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]-D^{4}.

On the repeal of the Stamp Act.

Evans 10596, Sabin 17901.

Copies: BM, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

51. FISH, ELISHA, 1719-1795.

Joy and Gladness: A Thanksgiving Discourse, Preached in Upton, Wednesday, May 28, 1766; Occasioned By The Repeal Of The Stamp-Act. . . .

Providence, in New-England: Printed and sold by Sarah Goddard, and Company . . . M,DCC,LXVII.

1 p. l., [1]-17 p., 8vo, [-]^{1} A-B^{4} [C]^{1}.

Evans 10612, Sabin 24428, Alden 362.

Copies: CtY, MWA, PPL, RPJCB.

GT. BRIT. PARLIAMENT. HOUSE OF COMMONS. *The Examination of Dr. Benjamin Franklin . . . Relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act.* [London] 1767, see: 31e, 31f.

52a. [LLOYD, CHARLES] 1735-1773.

The Conduct Of The Late Administration Examined. With An Appendix, Containing Original and Authentic Documents. . . .

London; Printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVII.

[1]-160 p., 1 l., i-liv, [2] p. (last 2 p. advts.), 8vo, [A]^{2} B-U^{4} X^{2} [-]^{1} a-g^{4}.

The first portion of this is said to have been dictated by George Grenville to Lloyd who was his secretary. See the article on Lloyd in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Sabin 22624.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

52b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

London; Printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVII. . . .

1 p. l., [5]-160 p., 1 l., i-liv, [2] p. (last 2 p. advts.), 8vo, [A]^{1} B-U^{4} X^{2} [-]^{1} a-g^{4}.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 52a. To the title page has been added a statement that this is "Relative to the American Stamp-Act" and the half title is omitted. Also issued in vol. III of *A Collection of the most interesting Tracts, Lately Published in*

England and America, on the Subjects of Taxing the American Colonies, London, J. Almon, 1767 and in vol. II of *A Collection of Tracts on the Subjects of Taxing The British Colonies in America,* London, J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 15203.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, WHi.

52c. [———]. ———.

London: Printed. 1767. Boston: Re-printed and sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1767.

[1]-107 p., 4to, [A]-N⁴ O².

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for May 18, 1767.

Evans 10663, Sabin 15202.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

Stamp Act Congress, 1765. *Authentic Account of the Proceedings of the Congress.* London, 1767, see: 43Ab.

1768

53. The Constitutional Right of The Legislature Of Great Britain To Tax the British Colonies In America Impartially Stated. . . .

London: Printed for J. Ridley . . . mdcclxviii.

2 p. l., [i]-xi, [1]-60 p. (1st p. l. adv.), 8vo, [A]⁴ a⁴ B-H⁴ I².

A reply to this is to be found in the Appendix to *A Letter To the Right Honourable Earl of Hilsborough,* first printed in London in 1769 and Boston reprinted the same year, no. 67.

Sabin 16138.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB.

54a. [Dickinson, John] 1732-1808.

Letters From A Farmer In Pennsylvania, To The Inhabitants Of The British Colonies.

Philadelphia: Printed by David Hall, and William Sellers. mdcclxviii.

[1]-71 p., 8vo, A-I⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for March 17, 1768. These twelve letters appeared first in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* between

November 30, 1767, and February 8, 1768. Before the end of 1767 almost every colonial newspaper began to reprint the series. Some printed only a few of the letters, but others printed all twelve. For an account of the newspaper appearance see: Arthur M. Schlesinger's *Prelude to Independence*, New York, 1958, pp. 88-91.

Evans 10875.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, MB, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

54b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June 16, 1768.

Evans 10879, Sabin 20044.

Copies: CtY, ICN, InU, MWA, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

54c. [———]. ———.

Boston: Printed By Mein and Fleeming, And To Be Sold By John Mein . . . MDCCLXVIII.

[1]-146, [2] p. (last 2 p. advts.), 8vo, [A]-S^4 T^2.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for April 4, 1768, and the *Newport Mercury* for April 25th. There are two states noted, the first with six lines of text on page 55 and T2 blank, the second with seven lines on p. 55 and on T2 "To the ingenious Author of certain patriotic Letters, subscribed A Farmer"—a letter ordered to be printed by the town of Boston, March 22, 1768. For the omission of a significant passage in this edition see: William W. Crosskey's *Politics and Government*, Chicago, 1953, pp. 1289-1291.

Evans 10876, Sabin 20044.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

54d. [———]. ———.

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes & Gill . . . MDCCLXVIII.

[1]-80 p., 4to, A-K^4.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for May 26, 1768. The *Connecticut Courant* for June 13th advertised either this or no. 54e.

Evans 10877, Sabin 20044.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

54e. [———]. ———.

New-York: re-printed by John Holt . . . 1768.

[1]-118 p., 12mo, [-]^{2} A^{4} B^{2} C^{4} D^{2} E^{4} F^{2} G^{4} H^{2} I^{4} K^{4} L^{2} M^{4} N^{2} O^{4} P^{4} Q^{2} R^{2} S^{4} T^{2} (T2 blank).

Advertised in the *New-York Journal* for April 22, 1768.

Evans 10878, Sabin 20044.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

54f. [———]. ———.

London. Printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXVIII.

2 p. l., [i]-iii, [1]-118 p., 8vo, [A]^{4} B-H^{8} I^{3}.

Pages i-iii contain the preface "The British Editor to the Reader" which is by Benjamin Franklin. See Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, pp. 121-122.

Sabin 20044.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

54g. [———]. ———. To which are Added, as an Appendix, The Speeches of Lord Chatham, and Lord Camden, The one upon the Stamp Act, the other on the Declaratary Bill, With A Preface by the Dublin Editor.

[Dublin] Printed for J. Sheppard . . . MDCCLXVIII.

[i]-vii, [8]-119, [1], [1]-29 p., 8vo, A-P^{4} A-C^{4} D^{3}.

The "Preface" is the one by Franklin in no. 54f.

Sabin 20044.

Copies: DLC, MiU-C.

54h. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.

Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford . . . M,DCC,LXIX.

1 p. l., [1]-104 p., 8vo, [-]^{1} A-N^{4}.

Some copies were issued with the engraved portrait of Dickinson that had been advertised in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for October 17, 1768. See: *The Annual Report of the John Carter Brown Library 1953-54*, pp. 34-37 and R. T. H. Halsey's edition of *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, New York, 1903, pp. xxxviii-xlii. Two issues noted, one with x's on the outside corners of the ornaments around the initial I on p. 1 and one with rosettes.

Evans 11238, Sabin 20044.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

54i. [———]. The Farmer's and Monitor's Letters. To The Inhabitants of The British Colonies.

Williamsburg: Printed by William Rind, MDCCLXIX.

1 p. l., [i]-iii, [1]-36, 33-97, [1] p., 4to, [-]^{1} A-K^{2} K-O^{2} P^{3} Q-Z^{2} Aa-Bb^{2}.

Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind) for June 29, 1769. The *Maryland Gazette* for April 20, 1769, carried an advertisement of Rind's proposal for the publication of this. The ten "Monitor's Letters," which were written by Arthur Lee, first appeared in Rind's newspaper between February 23 and April 28, 1769. See: Richard Henry Lee's *Life of Arthur Lee,* Boston, 1829, pp. 18-19. The unnumbered page at the end contains Dickinson's "Song of Liberty."

Evans 11239, Sabin 20044.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MBAt, MWA, RPJCB.

54j. [———]. Letters From A Farmer [&c.]. . . .

Philadelphia Printed; And London Re-Printed For J. Almon . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-136 p., 8vo, [A]-R^{4}.

This may be the edition that was being offered for sale in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for December 21, 1774. Sabin lists a Philadelphia edition of this date with this collation in the Library of Congress. They do not own any such copy and the entry is probably a ghost resulting from a misreading of the imprint of this edition.

Sabin 20044.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PPL, RPJCB.

54k. [———]. Lettres D'Un Fermier De Pensylvanie, Aux Habitans De L'Amérique Septentrionale, Traduites de l'Anglois.

A Amsterdam, [*i.e.* Paris?] Aux Dépens De La Compagnie. M.DCC.LXIX.

[i]-xxviij, [1]-258 p., 8vo, a^{8} b^{6} A-Q^{8} R^{1}.

Contains on pages iii-xxviij "Préface Du Traducteur" and "Avis De L'Editeur de Londres." The latter is a translation by Jacques Barbeu-Dubourg of Benjamin Franklin's preface to Almon's London

edition of 1768, no. 54f. Also on pages 215-258 extracts from the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* and the *London Chronicle*, "Notice de la Pensylvanie," "Observations . . . sur l'accroissement de l'espece humaine, la population pays, &c. par Benjamin Francklin . . ." and "Epilogue Du Traducteur."

Sabin 20045.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MiU-C, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

55. [Downer, Silas].

A Discourse Delivered in Providence, In The Colony of Rhode-Island, upon the 25th. Day of July, 1768. At The Dedication of the Tree of Liberty . . . By a Son of Liberty.

Providence: Printed and Sold By John Waterman . . . MDCCLXVIII.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Author attribution from Alden.

Evans 10886, Sabin 20767, Alden 383.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, RPB, RPJCB.

56a. [Hicks, William] 1735-1772.

The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power Considered; In some Remarks upon Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, previous to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act. With an Introduction Applicable to the present situation of the Colonies. . . .

Philadelphia, Printed [by William and Thomas Bradford?] Anno MDCCLXVIII.

[i]-xvi, [1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]^4 B-C^2 D-F^4 [G]^4.

Originally appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* in six installments between January 21 and February 25, 1768. Also reprinted in the *Boston Evening Post* from February 15 to March 21, 1768, and in the *South Carolina Gazette* from March 28 to April 11, 1768. The authorship is based on an attribution in a contemporary hand on the DLC copy. Printing credited to the Bradfords because as the printers of the *Journal* it would have been reasonable for them to have reprinted it. A reply to Pitt's speech on the repeal of the Stamp Act, first published as *Political Debates*, London, 1766, no. 41.

Evans 10985.

Copies: DLC, NN, PHi.

56b. [———]. ———.

New-York, reprinted from the Pennsylvania Journal by John Holt . . . 1768.

[1]-40 p., 12mo, A-C^{6} D^{2}.

Advertised in the *New-York Journal* for July 7, 1768.

Evans 10986, Sabin 52052.

Copies: DLC, NHi, NN, PPL.

57a. [LAURENS, HENRY] 1723-1797.

Extracts From The Proceedings Of The Court Of Vice-Admiralty In Charles-Town, South-Carolina; In the Cause, George Roupell, Esq; v. the Ship Ann and Goods: With A Few Explanatory Remarks. To which is subjoined, some General Observations On American Custom-House Officers, And Courts Of Vice-Admiralty. . . .

[Philadelphia] America: Printed, [sold by William and Thomas Bradford] Anno Domini, M,DCC,LXVIII.

[i]-iv, [1]-20 p., 4to, A-C^{4}.

The documents printed here were sent by Laurens to William Fisher of Philadelphia, part owner of the ship *Ann*, in the fall of 1768. They continue the dispute begun in the *Representation of Facts*, no. 47. Fisher had them printed late in 1768, and at first apparently intended them for private distribution. However, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for February 16, 1769, the Bradfords offered them for public sale probably because of the Charleston publication of the same month, no. 51b. For discussion see: Oliver M. Dickerson's *The Navigation Acts and The American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1951, pp. 224-231; David S. Lovejoy's "Rights Imply Equality, The Case Against Admiralty Jurisdiction in America: 1764-1776," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series), vol. XVI (1959), pp. 459-484; and Carl Ubbelohde's *The Vice-Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution*, Chapel Hill, 1960, pp. 104-114.

Evans 10945, Sabin 23532, 39925.

Copies: MBAt, MWA, NN, PPAmP, PPL.

57b. [———]. Extracts From The Proceedings Of The High Court Of Vice-Admiralty, In Charlestown, South-Carolina, Upon Six Several Informations, Adjudged By The Honourable Egerton Leigh, Esq; Sole Judge of that Court . . . With explanatory Remarks, &c. And Copies of two extraordinary Oaths. To Which Are Subjoined, Recapitulation, Reflections Arising From A Retrospect Of A Late Case, And Some General Observations On American Custom-House Officers, and Courts of Vice-Admiralty. . . .

Charlestown: Printed by David Bruce. MDCCLXIX.

[i]-iv, 1-42, 1-5, 1-4 p., fol., [A]-L^2 M^1 A^2 [B]^1 [C]^2.

According to Ubbelohde, this was published in February of 1769. It is an enlarged version of no. 57a with all the material after page 36 and pages 1-5 at the end added.

Copies: CSmH, MHi, MWA, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB.

57c. [———]. ———. The Second Edition, With An Appendix. . . .

Same imprint.

2 p. l., 1-49, [1]-4 p., 1 l., [1]-64 p., fol., [A]-M^2 [N]^2 [O]^1 [P]^2 [-]^1 A-Q^2.

Advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* for April 4, 1769, as to be published "sometime in the month of June" and in the issue of July 25, 1769, as to be published on August 3rd. *An Appendix To The Extracts From The Proceedings of the High Court of Vice-Admiralty . . . Containing Strictures upon, and proper Answers to, A Pamphlet Entitled The Man Unmasked Published by Egerton Leigh. Together With A full Refutation of Mr. Leigh's Attempts to vindicate his Judicial Proceedings* . . . has separate paging (1-64 at end) and title page with the same imprint as the main body of the pamphlet. It is a reply to Leigh's *The Man Unmasked,* Charleston, 1769, no. 66. For further bibliographical notes see: A. S. Salley's "The First Presses of South Carolina," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* vol. II (1907-1908), pp. 68-69 and "Bibliographical Note" by V. H. Paltsits, *ibid.,* vol. XXXV (1941), pp. 294-297.

Evans 11307.

Copies: ScHi.

58a. The Power And Grandeur Of Great-Britain, Founded On The Liberty Of The Colonies, And The Mischiefs attending the Taxing them by Act of Parliament Demonstrated. . . .

New-York: Printed and Sold by James Parker . . . M,DCC,LXVIII.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4.

Advertised in the *New-York Journal* for July 28, 1768, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for August 8th, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 18th as "Lately Published at New-York and to be sold by David Hall" and the *Providence Gazette* for August 27th.

Evans 11049, Sabin 64781.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, InU, MB, MH, MWA.

58b. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by William Goddard . . . M,DCC,LXVIII.

[1]-22 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 (C4 blank).

Evans 11050, Sabin 64781.

Copies: MWA, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

POWNALL, THOMAS. *The Administration of the Colonies. The Fourth Edition.* London, 1768, see: 5d.

59a. [SAYRE, STEPHEN] 1736-1818.

The Englishman Deceived; A Political Piece: Wherein Some very important Secrets of State are briefly recited, And offered to the Consideration of the Public. . . .

London: Printed for G. Kearsly . . . 1768. . . .

1 p. l., i-ii, 1-53 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-D^4 E^3 F-H^4.

An extract appeared in the *Newport Mercury* for August 8, 1768. Attributed to Sayre by the Library of Congress Catalog.

Sabin 22623.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NjP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

59b. [———]. ———.

London: Printed, New-York reprinted by John Holt . . . MDCCLXVIII.

1 p. l., [i]-ii, [1]-40 p., 8vo, [B]-F^4 G^2.

Advertised in the *New-York Journal* for October 20, 1768.

Evans 11065, Sabin 22623.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, DLC, NHi, NN, PPL.

59c. [———]. ———.

London, Printed, 1768. Salem: Re-printed and sold by Samuel Hall . . . 1768.

[1]-38 p., 4to, [A]-E^4 (E4 blank).

Evans 11066, Sabin 22623.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, NjP, PPL, RPJCB.

60. Some Observations Of Consequence, In Three Parts. Occasioned by the Stamp-Tax, Lately imposed on the British Colonies.

[Philadelphia?] Printed [By Hall and Sellers?] for the Author, MDCCLXVIII.

[i]-x, 11-80 p., 8vo, [A]-K⁴.

The Preface is signed "Loyal Patriot." The assignment of the printing of this to Hall and Sellers in Philadelphia is taken from Charles R. Hildeburn's *A Century of Printing, The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1885, item no. 2399.

Evans 11073, Sabin 86680.

Copies: DLC, MH, PPL.

1769

61a. [Bancroft, Edward] 1744-1821.

Remarks On The Review of the Controversy Between Great Britain and her Colonies. In Which The Errors of its Author are exposed. . . .

London, Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt . . . mdcclxix.

2 p. l., [1]-126 p., 1 l. (last l. advts.), [A]² B-I⁸.

A reply to William Knox's *The Controversy Between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed*, London, 1769, no. 65. For assignment of author see no. 61b.

Sabin 3111.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PP, PPAmP.

61b. ———. ———. By Edward Bancroft.

London: Printed in the Year 1769. New-London, in New-England: Re-printed and Sold by T. Green. m,dcc,lxxi.

[1]-130 p., 8vo, [A]-Q⁴ R² (R2 blank).

Evans 11976, Sabin 3111 note.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB, WHi.

[Bland, Richard] *An Enquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies.* London, 1769, see: 22Ab.

62a. Boston.

An Appeal To The World; Or A Vindication Of The Town of Boston, From Many false and malicious Aspersions Contain'd In certain Letters and Memorials, written by Governor Bernard, General Gage, Commodore Hood, the Commissioners of the American Board of Customs, and others . . . Published By Order Of The Town.

Printed And Sold By Edes and Gill . . . Boston, 1769.

[1]-37 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-E^{4} [F]^{3} ([F]3 blank).

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for October 26, 1769. Two states noted, one with the correction as called for in the errata on page 18 corrected and one with it not corrected. Issued in reply to the letters of Bernard and others published in Boston that same year, nos. 68 and 69. This was the work of a committee, but apparently much of the actual writing was done by Samuel Adams although a surviving manuscript draft in his hand differs in some particulars from the printed version. See: *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, edited by Harry A. Cushing, New York, 1904, vol. I, p. 416.

Evans 11133, Sabin 6478.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

62b. ———. Appendix To The American Gazette; Containing An Appeal to the World [&c.]. . . .

Boston, Printed . . . Reprinted, in London, by G. Kearsly. M.DCC.LXIX.

1 p. l., 1-34 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-E^{4} [F]^{1}.

Normally found at the end of *The American Gazette*, London, G. Kearsly, 1770. Evans 11134 is probably a ghost entry for this.

Copies: BM, RPJCB.

62c. ———. An Appeal To The World [&c.]. . . .

Published by Order of the Town of Boston, And Reprinted in London, By the Direction of Dennys De Berdt, Esq; M.DCC.LXIX.

1 p. l., 1-34 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-E^{4} [F]^{1}.

A reissue of no. 62b with a cancel title page and a cancel slip reading "An Appeal &c." pasted over the head-title. "Appendix &c." on page 1.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, MWiW-C, MiU-C, RPJCB.

62d. ———. ———.

Boston, Printed . . . London, Reprinted for J. Almon . . . 1770. . . .

1 p. l., [1]-58 p., 8vo, [A]^{2} B-H^{4}.

Also issued in vol. IV of *A Collection of Tracts, On The Subjects Of Taxing The British Colonies In America*, London, J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 6478.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

63a. Boston, Merchants.

Observations On Several Acts of Parliament, Passed In the 4th, 6th and 7th Years of his present Majesty's Reign: And Also, On The Conduct of the Officers of the Customs, Since Those Acts were passed, And The Board of Commissioners appointed To Reside in America. Published by the Merchants of Boston.

[Boston] Printed by Edes & Gill, M,DCC,LXIX.

1 p. l., [1]-24 p., 4to, $[A]^1$ B^4 B-C^4.

Evans 11393 lists an edition with the following imprint and collation: "Boston: Printed by Edes & Gill, 1769, pp. 24, 8vo." No copy has been located with Boston in the imprint and it is probably a ghost based on a confusion of this and no. 63b.

Evans 11392, Sabin 6536.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

63b. ———. ———.

Boston: Printed . . . London: Reprinted for G. Kearsly . . . and J. Almon . . . M.DCC.LXX. . . .

1 p. l., 1-37 p., 8vo, $[A]^1$ B-F^4 (F4 blank).

Sabin 6536.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MHi, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

63c. ———. Observations Of The Merchants At Boston in New-England, Upon Several Acts of Parliament. . . .

[London, J. Almon] MDCCLXX.

2 p. l., 1-37 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-E^4 F^3.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 63b with new title and half title added. Also issued in vol. IV of *A Collection of Tracts On the Subjects of Taxing The British Colonies in America*, London, J. Almon, 1773.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, NN, RPJCB.

64a. The Case Of Great Britain And America, Addressed To The King, And Both Houses of Parliament.

London: Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt . . . MDCCLXIX.

2 p. l., [1]-35 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-E^4 F^2.

Reprinted in the *Maryland Gazette* for March 9 and 16, 1769, in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for April 3 and 10, 1769, and in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for April 3, 13 and 20, 1769, (Rind)

April 13, 20 and 27, 1769. The British Museum and Bodleian catalogues attribute this to Gervase Parker Bushe while Cushing and Halkett and Laing attribute it to George B. Butler.

Sabin 9637.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

64b. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-43 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-F^4 G^2.

Note on the second leaf reads "In this edition, the author has endeavoured to remedy some of the greatest defects of the preceding one . . . he wishes that the first edition of this pamphlet be forgotten."

Sabin 9637.

Copies: BM, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

64c. ———. The Third Edition.

Dublin: Printed for James Williams . . . MDCCLXIX.

2 p. l., [1]-43 p., 8vo, [A]-F^4.

A reprint of no. 64a.

Sabin 9637.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MiU-C, PPL, RPJCB.

64d. ———.

London: Printed, Philadelphia, Re-Printed by William and Thomas Bradford . . . MDCCLXIX.

1 p. l., [1]-16 p., 8vo, A-B^4 C^2 (C2 blank).

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for April 13, 1769. A reprint of no. 64a. Two states noted, one with page 7 correctly numbered and one with it numbered 6.

Evans 11193, Sabin 9637.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

64e. ———. The Third Edition.

London, Printed. Boston, Re-printed, and Sold by Edes & Gill . . . And by T. & J. Fleet . . . [1769].

[1]-15 p., 4to, [A]-B^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for May 22, 1769. A reprint of no. 64b.

Evans 11194.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, PPL, RPJCB.

[Dickinson, John]. *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania. The Third Edition.* Philadelphia, 1769, see: 54h.

[———]. *The Farmers and Monitor's Letters.* Williamsburg, 1769, see: 54i.

[———]. *Lettres D'un Fermier De Pennsylvanie.* Amsterdam, 1769, see: 54k.

65a. [Knox, William] 1732-1810.

The Controversy Between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed; The Several Pleas Of The Colonies, In Support of their Right to all the Liberties and Privileges of British Subjects, and to Exemption from the Legislative Authority of Parliament, Stated And Considered. . . .

London: Printed for J. Almon . . . mdcclxix.

2 p. l., [1]-207, [i]-lv p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-I^8 K^4 L-O^8 P^4 a-c^8 d^4.

Knox's authorship established on the same basis as no. 17. See also: *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections,* vol. VI, p. 104. Also issued as vol. III of *A Collection of Tracts On the Subjects of Taxing The British Colonies in America,* London, J. Almon, 1773 in which the title page has been reset, the half-title converted into an errata leaf following the title page, and "A New Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets, printed for J. Almon . . ." dated November, 1770, added on 16 pages at the end. The catalogue of the Houghton Library, at Harvard, records at least four other states of this pamphlet. Edward Bancroft's *Remarks on the Review of the Controversy,* London, 1769, New London reprinted, 1771, no. 61b, is a reply.

Sabin 38180.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

65b. [———]. ———.

Dublin: Printed for W. Watson . . . mdcclxix.

1 p. l., [1]-207, [i]-lv p., 1 l. (last l. advts.), 8vo, $[A]^1$ B-I^8 K^4 L-O^8 P^4 a-c^8 d^4.

Sabin 38180.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC.

65c. [———]. ———.

Boston: Printed By Mein and Fleeming . . . MDCCLXIX.

[1]-100 p., 4to, [A]-M⁴, N².

Evans 11305, Sabin 38180.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

[LAURENS, HENRY]. *Extracts from the Proceedings of the High Court of Vice-Admiralty.* Charlestown, 1769, see: 57b, 57c.

66. LEIGH, SIR EGERTON, 1733-1788.

The Man Unmasked: Or, The World Undeceived, In The Author Of A Late Pamphlet, Intitled, "Extracts From The Proceedings Of The High Court Of Vice-Admiralty In Charlestown. . . .

Charles-Town: Printed By Peter Timothy, M,DCC,LXIX.

[1]-154, 1-44, 1-16 p., 1 l. (last l. errata), 4to, A-Z⁴ Aa-Dd⁴.

Advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette & Country Journal* for April 4, 1769. A reply to Henry Laurens' *Extracts From The Proceedings*, Charleston, 1769, no. 57b.

Evans 11308, Sabin 39927.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, MHi, MWA, NN, NcD, PPL.

67a. A Letter To The Right Honourable The Earl of Hilsborough [*sic*], On The Present Situation Of Affairs In America . . . Also An Appendix in Answer to a Pamphlet intituled, The Constitutional Right of Great-Britain to tax the Colonies. . . .

London, Printed for George Kearsly . . . MDCCLXIX.

1 p. l., [1]-117 p., 8vo, [A]¹ B-P⁴ Q³.

The Appendix is a reply to an anonymous pamphlet, *The Constitutional Right of Great Britain*, London, 1768, no. 53.

Sabin 31912.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, InU, MH, NN, ViU.

67b. ———.

London: Printed, Boston: Re-Printed, and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1769.

[1]-55 p., 8vo, [A]-G⁴.

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for November 27, 1769.

Evans 11310, Sabin 1792a, 31912.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

68a. Massachusetts. Governor, 1760-1770 (Francis Bernard).

Copies of Letters from Governor Bernard, &c. to the Earl of Hillsborough.

[Boston: Edes and Gill, 1769].

[1-4] p., fol., [A]².

Caption-title.

These are the "Bernard Letters" written in October, November, and December of 1768. In a letter to Lord Barrington dated April 12, 1769, *Barrington-Bernard Correspondence*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 200, Bernard said "There are just now arrived 6 of my Letters & 1 of General Gage's attested by the Clerk of the Papers; & Mr. Bollan who has sent them hither promises the rest as soon as they can be copied. The Councellors to whom they were sent immediately met, ordered these Papers to be printed; but the Publication of them, is deferred until Observations can be finished to accompany them, which a Gentleman has been hard at Work upon & will have completed in a Day or two. They are then to be sent about the Province in order to inflame the People against the Election in May next, which they will effectually do. In the Mean time they have been read by the whole town at the Printers." An announcement of the existence of the letters appears in the *Boston Gazette* for April 17, 1769. They were reprinted in a number of newspapers among which were a Supplement to the *Pennsylvania Journal* for May 11, 1769, the *Maryland Gazette* for May 18th through the 25th, and the *South Carolina Gazette* for June 1st.

This printing and nos. 68b and 68c have been assigned to Edes and Gill because they were the printers for the House of Representatives and the printers of later editions of the letters, nos. 68d and 68e. They may have printed nos. 68a-c to be circulated surreptitiously prior to the official publication.

Copies: MBAt, MHi, RPJCB.

68b. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-16 p., 4to, A-B⁴.

Caption-title.

A comparison of this and no. 68a shows that they were printed from the same setting of type. The folio was printed first and then the standing type was rearranged for this quarto edition, resulting in some unusual spacings in this printing.

Evans 11178.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, MBAt, MWA, PPL, RPJCB.

68c. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-28 p., 8vo, A-C^4 D^2.

Caption-title.

This is an entirely new setting and may have been issued to go with no. 69a.

Evans 11179.

Copies: MHi.

68d. ———. Letters To The Right Honorable The Earl of Hillsborough, From Governor Bernard, General Gage, And The Honorable His Majesty's Council For the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. With An Appendix Containing Divers Proceedings referred to in the said Letters.

Boston: New-England. Printed by Edes and Gill . . . 1769.

[1]-83 p., fol., [a]-e^2 f^1 g-x^2 [y]^1.

This is the official publication of the "Letters" with the "Observations" referred to by Bernard in the note to no. 68a. The *Boston News-Letter* for July 27, 1769 advertises "A few setts are to be dispos'd of." Evans lists this as having been issued with the *Journals of the Honourable House of Representatives* for 1769-1770; however, the note mentioned above indicates that they were also available separately. Sabin 4924 lists a Salem edition which has not been located. It is probably a ghost for no. 69b.

Evans 11332, Sabin 4924.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PHi, RPJCB, ViU.

68e. ———. ———.

Boston: New-England. Printed . . . London: Re-printed for J. Almon . . . [1769?].

[1]-122, 123*-124*, 123-165 p., 8vo, [A]^1 B-Q^4 *R^1 R-X^4 Y^2.

Also issued in vol. IV of *A Collection of Tracts, On The Subjects of Taxing the British Colonies in America*, London, J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 4924.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

69a. Massachusetts. Governor, 1760-1770 (Francis Bernard). Letters To The Ministry From Governor Bernard, General Gage, and Commodore Hood. And Also Memorials to the Lords of the Treasury, From The Commissioners of the Customs. With Sundry Letters and Papers annexed to the said Memorials.

Boston: Printed By Edes & Gill . . . 1769.

[1]-108 p., 8vo, [A]-N^4 O^2.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for September 7, 1769. These were the additional letters Bernard referred to in the letter of April 12, 1769, quoted in the note under no. 68a, when he said that William Bollan, the agent of Massachusetts in London, would send the "rest as soon as they can be copied." By the time these had appeared Bernard had left Boston.

Evans 11176, Sabin 4923.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

69b. ———. ———.

Salem: Reprinted and sold by Samuel Hall . . . 1769.

[1]-24 p., 4to, [A]-B [*i.e.* C]^4.

This consists of the first third of the letters only. The note at the end indicates that the rest were to appear, but no copies of them have been located.

Copies: CtY, MH, MWA, NHi, RPJCB.

69c. ———. ———.

Boston: New-England. Printed . . . London: Re-printed for J. Wilkie . . . [1769?].

[1]-146 p., 8vo, A-I^8 K^1.

Sabin 4923.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

70. MASSACHUSETTS. GOVERNOR, 1760-1770 (FRANCIS BERNARD).

A third extraordinary Budget of Epistles and Memorials between Sir Francis Bernard . . . some Natives of Boston . . . and the present Ministry. . . .

[Boston: Printed by Edes & Gill, 1769].

[1]-8 p., 4to, [A]⁴.

Caption-title.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for December 14, 1769. A continuation of nos. 68 and 69.

Evans 11177, Sabin 4927.

Copies: ICN, MH, MHi, MWA, PPL, RPJCB.

71. [MEIN, JOHN].

A State Of The Importations From Great-Britain Into the Port of Boston, From the beginning of Jan. 1769, to Aug. 17th 1769. With the Advertisements of a Set of Men . . . Who entered into a Solemn Agreement, (as they called it) Not to import Goods from Britain . . . The whole taken from the Boston Chronicle, in which the following Papers were first published.

Boston: Printed by Mein and Fleeming, 1769.

2 p. l., 1-130 p., 4to, [-]² A-Z² Aa-Mm² (Mm2 blank).

For a discussion see: C. M. Andrews, "Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. XIX (1916-1917), pp. 226-230; A. M. Schlesinger, "Propaganda and the Boston Newspaper Press," *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII (1933-1937), pp. 411-416; and J. E. Alden, "John Mein: Scourge of Patriots," *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIII (1937-1942), pp. 571-599. For a continuation in 1770 see no. 83.

Evans 11336, Sabin 47406.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, RPJCB.

OTIS, JAMES. *A Vindication of the British Colonies.* London, 1769, see: 20b, 20c.

72a. [POWNALL, THOMAS] 1722-1805.

The C——— having gone through the examination of the Facts contained in the North American Papers, and the discussion of the opinions and resolutions formed and originated in another place. . . .

[London? 1769?].

1-12 p., fol., A⁶.

This has no caption-title, but begins with Pownall's speech as above. It was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for May 8, 15, 22, 29, 1769.

Copies: NN.

72b. [———]. The Speech Of Th-m-s P-wn-ll, Esq; Late G-v-rn-r of this Province, in the H———se of C———m———ns, in Favor of America.

[Boston: Sold by T. & J. Fleet and Edes and Gill, 1769].

1-16 p., 4to, A-B⁴.

Caption-title.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for Monday, April 24, 1769, as to be published "next Thursday." Evans 11424-6 lists a second, a third, and a fourth edition all printed in 1769. None have been found that are so labeled. A comparison of the various copies of this pamphlet may show variations in type suggesting that there was more than one printing. Sabin 64831 lists a Boston, 1770 edition which has not been found either.

Evans 11423.

Copies: BM, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB, WHi.

73. [State of the Embarrassments (*sic*) and Difficulties the Trade labors under by means of the late Regulations and Revenue Acts. Drawn up by Messrs. Wells, Inches, Dennie, Molineaux and Smith.]

[Boston, 1769].

[24 p., 4to].

No copy of this has been located and it appears to be based upon Haven's "Catalogue of Publications in What is Now the United States, Prior To The Revolution," in Isaiah Thomas' *The History of Printing in America, Second Edition,* Albany, 1874, vol. II, pp. 309-664.

Evans 11478, Sabin 90612.

74a. [Zubly, John Joachim] 1724-1781.

An Humble Enquiry Into The Nature of the Dependency of the American Colonies upon the Parliament of Great-Britain, And The Right of Parliament to lay Taxes on the said Colonies. . . .

[Charleston, S. C.] Printed in The Year M,DCC,LXIX. . . .

1 p. l., [1]-26 p., 4to, [-]¹ A-F² G¹.

Advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* for June 5, 1769 and the *Geor-*

gia Gazette for June 7, 1769. An extract also appeared in the *Georgia Gazette* for June 28 to July 9, 1769. The attribution to Zubly is based on a statement by Henry Miller in his *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* for October 20, 1775, cited by Hildeburn in his *A Century of Printing: the Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania* (1886) no. 3310, where he refers to no. 74b.

Sabin 106387.

Copies: CSmH, MWA, MH, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

74b. ———. Great Britain's Right To Tax Her Colonies. Placed in the clearest Light, By a Swiss. . . .

[London? 1774?]

[1]-55 p., 8vo, B-H⁴.

A reprint of 74a. *A Catalogue of the Books belonging to The Library Company of Philadelphia,* Philadelphia, 1789, pp. 189 and 196, lists copies of the pamphlet and gives Philadelphia 1775 as the imprint. Charles Hildeburn in his *A Century of Printing, The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania 1685-1784,* no. 3310, apparently copied. Perhaps he did so because the librarian who compiled the 1789 *Catalogue* was Zachariah Poulson, the printer who began his apprenticeship in Philadelphia only two or three years after the pamphlet was printed. Ordinarily this evidence that is almost contemporary would lend weight to Poulson's listing. However, there is an unusual semicircular type ornament on the title page. Mr. Alden Johnson of Barre, Massachusetts, who is currently at work on a study of American type ornaments, very kindly checked the matter for me and could not find that the ornament had ever been used by an American printer. This, together with searches in Philadelphia libraries by Mr. Wilman Spawn and my own searches in the John Carter Brown Library, both of which produced negative results, has led me to list the place of printing as London with a query.

Sabin 28437, vol. 29, p. 292.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

74c. [———]. ———.

London: Printed by J. Delegal . . . and Sold by W. Davenhill . . . and G. Kearsley . . . MDCCLXXIV.

1 p. l., [1]-55 p., 8vo, B⁴ (Bl+[-]¹), C-H⁴.

This is no. 74b with a full title page inserted between the half-title and the first page of text. The inserted page does not have the stab holes found through the rest of the pamphlet, thus indicating that it was probably added after folding and sewing.

Sabin 28437, vol. 29, p. 292.

Copies: ICN, MiU-C, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

1770

BOSTON. *An Appeal to the World.* London, 1770, see: 62d.

75a. BOSTON.

A Short Narrative Of The horrid Massacre in Boston, Perpetrated In the Evening of the Fifth Day of March, 1770. By Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment . . . With Some Observations On The State Of Things Prior To That Catastrophe.

Printed by Order of the Town of Boston, And Sold by Edes and Gill. . . . And T. & J. Fleet . . . 1770.

[1]-35, [1]-80, 79-81 p., 8vo, [A]-P⁴.

This report was drawn up by a committee consisting of James Bowdoin, Joseph Warren, and Samuel Pemberton appointed by the Town Meeting, March 12, 1770. C. K. Shipton, in his sketch of Bowdoin in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* vol. XI, p. 528, says it was primarily Bowdoin's work. The report, which occupies pages 1-35, first count, was presented and accepted at the meeting on March 19th, at which time it was ordered to be printed. Apparently it was decided later to add the ninety-six depositions at the end because some are dated as late as March 24th. The printing could not have been completed until after March 30th, because that is the date of the certifications of various Justices of the Peace and of the Governor on pages 79-80. The frontispieces sometimes described as belonging to this and other Boston editions belong to the London editions. See: Clarence S. Brigham's *Paul Revere's Engravings,* Worcester, 1954, pp. 47-48. Evans 11582 records a Philadelphia edition but no copy has been found and it is probably a ghost. Although the pamphlet was ordered to be printed by the Town of Boston, Rollo G. Silver in "Government Printing in Massachusetts: 1751-1801," *Studies in Bibliography,* vol. XVI (1963), p. 178, points out that the General Court reimbursed the Town £49 6*d.* in June of 1771 to discharge their bill with the printers.

Copies: MBAt.

75b. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-38, [1]-80, 79-81 p., 8vo, [A]-D⁴, E1-2, [-]1, E3-4, F-P⁴.

Same as no. 75a except that pages 37-38, first count, have been added

containing a justification of the final paragraph of the report. According to the minutes of the Town Meeting of March 22nd, it was voted to send copies to England. It was this issue that was sent because all British reprints contain the added justification found here. It was voted in the meeting of March 26th not to distribute any copies in this country because it "may be supposed by the unhappy Persons now in custody for tryal as tending to give undue Byass to the mind of the Jury."

Evans 11581, Sabin 6739.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

75c. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-48, [1]-80, 79-81, 85-88 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4, E1-2, o^4, [-]^2, E3-4, F-P^4 [Q]^2.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 75b except for the two following additions which contain statements that indicate that this printing was intended for American distribution: 1) pages 39-48, first count, contain an account of the Commissioners of the Customs; 2) pages 85-88, at the end, contain a list of the people in Great Britain to whom copies of no. 75b of the pamphlet were sent and a letter addressed to the Duke of Richmond. The second is sometimes found inserted before the incorrectly paged index which occupies pages 79-81. This additional material is probably what is referred to in the following extract from the minutes of the Town Meeting for May 8, 1770. "The Committee who drew . . . a narrative of the late horrid Massacre . . . presented an Appendix to said Narrative, which have been read and considered, Voted, that the same be accepted." The prohibition against distribution was still in effect at this time.

Copies: CtY, DLC, PHi, PPL.

75d. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-48, [1]-88 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 (E2 + o^4 +[-]^2) F-P^4 [Q]^2.

Printed from the same setting of type as no. 75c except that the errors in page numbering have been corrected. Like no. 75c, pages 85-88 are sometimes found inserted before the index which here occupies pages 81-83.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NjP, PPL.

75e. ———. ———. To which is added an Appendix containing the several Depositions. . . .

Boston, Printed, by Order of The Town, by Messirs. [*sic*] Edes and Gill; And Re-printed for W. Bingley . . . London. MDCCLXX. [and Boston again reprinted by Edes and Gill? 1770.]

3 p. l., [5]-48, [1]-83 p., 8vo, [-]^2 [A]^3 B-D^4, E1-2, o^4, [-]^2, E3-4, F-P^4.

This was printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 75d, but with the following very significant changes. The title page of 75d was discarded and in its place was printed a half-title and title that closely copies the Bingley, London, no. 75f below. Pages 43-44, second count, and 77-78 are reset, the former in accordance with the Erratum on page 79 of no. 75d. The explanation for this Boston imitation of Bingley's London edition while there were still undistributed copies of the earlier edition in Boston may be found in the minutes of the Town Meeting of July 10th. At that time an attempt to release the earlier Boston printing for distribution was voted down. The Bingley London edition was first advertised in the *London Chronicle* two months earlier on May 5th. By July copies were undoubtedly being brought back from England, for in that same Town Meeting of July 10th, letters from England concerning the "horrid Massacre" were read to the meeting. Edes and Gill, after printing copies for the Town Meeting two months before, had probably kept the type standing in anticipation of a substantial sale once the pamphlet was released. They now found copies of the London edition being circulated with the ban on their copies still enforced, probably because the trial of the soldiers was not to be held until the following November. Apparently their solution was to bring out a surreptitious edition and market it through another bookseller, because the *Boston Evening Post* for July 16th carries the following advertisement: "Next Wednesday will be published (from the London edition) and to be sold at the Printing Office in Milk Street [*i.e.*, Kneeland and Adams] A Narrative . . . To which is added an Appendix . . .". It is also possible, of course, that the type forms were actually taken to Kneeland and Adams' shop and the printing was done there.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH.

75f. ———. ———. To which is added an Appendix. . . .

Boston, Printed, by Order of the Town . . . And Re-printed for W. Bingley . . . London. MDCCLXX.

3 p. l., [5]-38, 1-83 p., folding frontispiece, 8vo, [-]^2 A-P^4.

A reprint of no. 75b. Advertised in the *London Chronicle* for May 5, 1770. See: Brigham cited in no. 75a.

Sabin 6740.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, RPJCB, ViU.

75g. ———. ———.

Printed by Order of the Town of Boston: London, Re-printed for E. and C. Dilly . . . and J. Almon . . . M.DCC.LXX.

[1]-166 p., frontispiece, 8vo, [A]-X^4 (X4 blank).

A reprint of no. 75a. See: Brigham cited in no. 75a. Also issued in vol. IV of *A Collection of Tracts on the Subjects of Taxing the British Colonies in America*, London: J. Almon, 1773.

Sabin 6740.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB.

75h. ———. A Letter From The Town Of Boston, To C. Lucas, Esq . . . Inclosing A Short Narrative Of The Massacre Perpetrated There [&c.]. . . .

Printed By Order Of The Town Of Boston, And Dublin: Reprinted By Tho. Ewing . . . [1770?].

[1]-56 p., 8vo, [A]-C^8 D^4.

Charles Lucas, a Member of Parliament from Dublin, was one of the people on the list, mentioned in the note to no. 75b, to whom copies of the Boston edition were sent. This is an abridgment of no. 75a. Twelve of the eighty depositions were omitted and others shortened. A copy was received by the Boston town meeting March 10, 1771.

Sabin 6741 & 11583.

Copies: DLC, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

75i. ———. Additional Observations To A Short Narrative Of The Horrid Massacre in Boston. . . .

Printed by Order of the Town of Boston. MDCCLXX [London: Reprinted for E. and C. Dilly, 1770].

[1]-12 p., 8vo, [A]^6.

Although issued separately, this is also found bound at the end of no. 75f. Evans incorrectly lists this as having been printed in Boston. Actually it contains the material omitted from nos. 75a and b but included in no. 75c.

Evans 11583, Sabin 6741.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

Boston. Merchants. *Observations On Several Acts of Parliament.* London, 1770, see: 63b, 63c.

76. Chauncy, Charles, 1705-1787.

Trust in God, the Duty of a People in a Day of Trouble. A Sermon Preached, May 30th. 1770. At the request of a great number of Gentlemen, friends to the Liberties of North America, who were desirous, notwithstanding the removal of the Massachusetts General-Court (unconstitutionally as they judged) to Cambridge, that God might be acknowledged in that house of worship at Boston. . . .

Boston: Printed by Daniel Kneeland, for Thomas Leverett . . . 1770.

[1]-38 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 (E4 blank).

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for June 7, 1770.

Evans 11599, Sabin 12330, Ford-*Chauncy* 48.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, NcD, PPL, RPJCB.

77. A Fair Account Of The Late Unhappy Disturbance At Boston in New England; Extracted From the Depositions that have been made concerning it by Persons of all Parties. With An Appendix, Containing Some Affidavits and other Evidences relating to this Affair, not mentioned in the Narrative of it that has been published at Boston.

London, Printed for B. White . . . mdcclxx.

[1]-28, 1-31 p., 8vo, [B]-H^4 I^2.

In part this was a reply to *A Short Narrative Of The Horrid Massacre in Boston,* Boston, 1770, no. 75. It contains 28 numbered affidavits at the end. They begin with number 97 and run through 125. The last one was made by Andrew Oliver and describes the actions that resulted in the removal of the troops from Boston after the Boston Massacre together with the Council's part in the affair. The Council took exception to Oliver's statements in *Proceedings Of His Majesty's Council . . . Relative to The Deposition of Andrew Oliver,* Boston, 1770, no. 80.

Sabin 6735.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, RPJCB.

78. JOHNSON, STEPHEN, 1724-1786.

Integrity and Piety the best Principles of a good Administration of Government. . . . A Sermon Preached Before The General Assembly Of The Colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, On The Day Of Their Anniversary Election, May 10, 1770. . . .

New-London, Printed by Timothy Green . . . M,DCC,LXX.

[1]-39 p., 4to, $[A]^4$ B-G^2 H^4.

Evans 11691, Sabin 36322.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

79a. LATHROP, JOHN, 1740-1816.

Innocent Blood Crying To God From The Streets Of Boston. A Sermon Occasioned By The Horrid Murder . . . by a Party of Troops . . . On The Fifth Of March, 1770. . . .

London: Printed for E. and C. Dilly . . . and J. Almon . . . MDCCLXX.

[i]-iv, 5-22 p., 4to, 4^4 B^4 C^3.

Sabin 39184.

Copies: CSmH, MBAt, MH, NN.

79b. ———. ———.

London, Printed. Boston: Re-Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . M,DCC,LXXI.

[i]-iv, 5-21 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 (C4 blank).

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for April 29, 1771.

Evans 12094, Sabin 39184.

Copies: CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, NHi, NN, NjP, RPJCB, ViU.

80. MASSACHUSETTS. COUNCIL.

Proceedings Of His Majesty's Council Of The Province Of Massachusetts-Bay, Relative To The Deposition of Andrew Oliver, Esq; Secretary of the said Province, Concerning what passed in Council in Consequence of the unhappy Affair of the 5th of March 1770.

Boston, New-England: Printed by Edes and Gill . . . MDCCLXX.

1 p. l., 1-33 p., fol., $[-]^1$ a-h^2 i^1.

This is a reply to deposition no. 125 by Andrew Oliver in *A Fair Account of the Late Unhappy Disturbance At Boston,* London, 1770, no. 77. This was ordered to be printed as an appendix to the *Journal* of the House of Representatives, Evans nos. 11734-36.

Evans 11737, Sabin 45940.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

81a. Massachusetts. General Court. House of Representatives.

Copy of the Complaint of the House of Representatives of Massachuset's-Bay [*sic*] against Sir Francis Bernard: With Sir Francis Bernard's Answer. Now depending before His Majesty in Council.

[London, 1770].

[1]-6 p., 1 l., fol., [A]-B^2.

Docket-title on verso last leaf.

Copies: CtY.

81b. ———. ———.

[Boston, 1770].

1-15 p., 4to, A-B^4.

Caption-title.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for May 10, 1770. Reprinted in the *Newport Mercury* for May 14 and 21, 1770. Also issued as a broadside, Evans 11731.

Evans 11730, Sabin 4922.

Copies: DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, PPL.

81c. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

1-16 p., 4to, A-B^4.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 81b with "Report of the Lords of the Committee relative to Foregoing the Complaint, &c. March 7. 1770" added on page 16.

Copies: DLC, MBAt.

82. [A Short but Serious Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, by a Well Wisher to his King and Country].

[Philadelphia: William Goddard, 1770].

No copy has been located, but this title was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for October 8, 1770.

Evans 11854, Sabin 80610.

83a. A State of Importations From Great-Britain, Into The Port of Boston, From the beginning of January, 1770: Taken from the Cockets and Manifests, sworn to by the Masters of the several Vessels.

Boston: Printed [by John Fleeming?] in the Year, MDCCLXX.

[1]-51 p., 4to & 8vo, A-D^4 E-I^2.

A continuation of John Mein's *A State of the Importations*, issued in 1769, no. 71. By 1770 he had left the country so he could not have had a hand in this publication, but it was probably compiled by his partner John Fleeming. The types used are the same as no. 71. It includes an account of the period from January 8 to May 15, 1770. The collations of this and no. 83b are conjectured from the known copies, which are imperfect, on the basis of the wording of their title pages.

Copies: MH (pp. 49-51 wanting).

83b. A State of Importations [&c.] . . . From the beginning of January 1770. To which is added, An Account of such of these goods have been re-shipt for Great Britain. The Whole taken from the Custom House of the port of Boston.

Boston, Printed [by John Fleeming?] in the year 1770.

[1]-59 p., 4to & 8vo, A-D^4 E-L^2.

Consists of the sheets of no. 83a with an altered title page and the "Account of Goods reshipt to Great Britain" added on pages 53-59.

Copies: PHi (pp. 53-59 wanting).

83c. A State of Importations [&c.] . . . From the beginning of January, 1770. To which is added, An Account of all the Goods that have been re-shipt From the above Port for Great-Britain, since January 1769. The whole taken from the Custom house of the Port of Boston.

Same imprint.

[1]-78, 78-87 p., 4to & 8vo, A-D^4 E-M^2 O^1 P-Q^2 R^1 S-T^2.

This consists of the sheets of no. 83b with "State of the Importations for 1770 (Continued)" covering the period May 24th to June 29th on pages 61-78.

Evans 11744.

Copies: DLC, MHi, MWA, PPL.

84a. WEMMS, WILLIAM, defendant.

The Trial of William Wemms, James Hartegan, William M'Cauley, Hugh White, Matthew Killroy, William Warren, John Carrol, and Hugh Montgomery, Soldiers in his Majesty's 29th Regiment of Foot, For

The Murder of Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Patrick Carr, On Monday-Evening, the 5th of March 1770 . . . Taken in Short-Hand by John Hodgson.

Boston: Printed by J. Fleeming . . . M,DCC,LXX.

[1]-217 p., 4to, [A]-Z^4 Aa-Dd^4, [Ee]^1.

Although advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for December 27, 1770 as "in press," the earliest announcement of actual sale found was in the *Boston Evening Post* for January 21, 1771.

Evans 11683, Sabin 96951.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

84b. ———. ———.

Boston Printed, London reprinted for T. Evans . . . [1771?].

[1]-216 p., 8vo, [A]-Z^4 Aa-Dd^4.

Copies: MH, MiU-C.

1771

Bancroft, Edward. *Remarks on the Review of the Controversy.* New-London, 1771, see: 61b.

Lathrop, John. *Innocent Blood Crying to God From the Streets of Boston.* London, 1771, see: 79b.

85. Lovell, James, 1738-1814.

An Oration Delivered April 2d, 1771 . . . To Commemorate the bloody Tragedy Of The Fifth of March, 1770. . . .

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill, by Order of the Town of Boston. 1771.

[1]-19 p., 4to, [A]-B^4 C^2.

The earliest advertisement found was in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for April 9, 1772, where in a notice for Warren's *Oration* for 1772, no. 88, there is the statement that a few of these are still left.

Evans 12099, Sabin 42374.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, PPRos, RPJCB, ViU.

86. TUCKER, JOHN, 1719-1792.

A Sermon Preached At Cambridge, Before His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; . . . His Honor Andrew Oliver, Esq; . . . And The Honorable His Majesty's Council, And The Honorable House of Representatives, Of The Province Of The Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, May 29th. 1771. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for said Province. . . .

Boston: New-England: Printed by Richard Draper . . . MDCCLXXI.

[1]-63 p., 8vo, A-D⁸.

Evans 12256, Sabin 97325.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

1772

87a. BOSTON. COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

The Votes and Proceedings Of The Freeholders and other Inhabitants Of The Town of Boston, In Town Meeting assembled . . . To which is prefixed, as Introductory, An attested Copy of a Vote of the Town at a preceeding Meeting.

Boston: Printed By Edes And Gill . . . And T. and J. Fleet . . . [1772?].

[i]-iv, [1]-43 p., 8vo, [A]² B-F⁴ G².

This consists of the report submitted November 20th at a "Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston" by a Committee appointed at the meeting of November 2nd "to state the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects . . . with the infringments and violations thereof. . . . " Although the report was presented as the work of the Committee, it was largely written by Samuel Adams. A manuscript of it exists in his handwriting. See: H. A. Cushing's *Writings of Samuel Adams*, New York, 1906, vol. II, p. 350. Evans 12331 lists also a *Report of A Committee of the Inhabitants of Boston On the Rights of the Colonists* . . . Boston [1772] which is clearly a ghost entry for this pamphlet. Probably Evans had an incomplete copy but did not recognize it as such and copied the caption-title. Two states noted, one with the last three lines of the title reading | *To which is prefixed,* | *As Introductory, an attested Copy of a Vote* | *of the Town at a preceeding Meeting.* | The other reads | *To which is prefixed, as Introductory,* | *An Attested Copy of a Vote of the Town* | *at a preceeding Meeting.* | "A Letter of Correspondence to the other Towns," pages 30-35, was also issued as a broadside. See: W. C. Ford's *Broadsides, Ballads &c. Printed in Massachusetts*, no. 1608.

Evans 12332, Sabin 6568.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

87b. ———. ———.

Boston, Printed: London, reprinted; and sold by J. Wilkie . . . MDCCLXXIII.

1 p. l., [i]-viii, [1]-43 p., 8vo, [-]^{1}A-F^{4} G^{2}.

The "Preface of The British Editor" is by Benjamin Franklin. See: Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, pp. 225-226.

Sabin 6569.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB, WHi.

87c. ———. ———.

Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner . . . MDCCLXXIII.

[i]-viii, [1]-32 p., 8vo, A-E^{4}.

A reprint of no. 87b.

Copies: MH.

88a. WARREN, JOSEPH, 1740-1775.

An Oration Delivered March 5th, 1772. At The Request Of The Inhabitants Of The Town Of Boston; To Commemorate The Bloody Tragedy Of The Fifth Of March, 1770. . . .

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill . . . 1772.

[1]-18 p., 4to, [A]-B^{4} C^{2} (C2 blank).

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 26, 1772.

Evans 12600, Sabin 101477.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, PHi, PPRos, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

88b. ———. ———.

Same imprint and collation.

"⟨Second Edition⟩" printed at the bottom of the title page below the mourning border. Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for April 9, 1772. Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 88a.

Evans 12601, Sabin 101477.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MHi, MiU-C, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

89. [ZUBLY, JOHN JOACHIM] 1724-1781.

Calm and Respectful Thoughts on the Negative of the Crown on a Speaker chosen and presented by the Representatives of the People: Occasioned by some Publications in the Georgia Gazette, of May and June 1772, wherein the late Assembly of that Province is charged with encroaching on the Rights of the Crown. By a Freeman. . . .

[Savannah, J. Johnston, 1772].

[1]-24 p., 8vo, A-C^4.

Caption-title.

Sabin 106383.

Copies: DLC, MWiW-C, NjP.

1773

90. [ALLEN, JOHN] fl. 1764.

The American Alarm, Or The Bostonian Plea, For the Rights, and Liberties, of the People . . . By The British Bostonian.

Boston: Printed and Sold by D. Kneeland, and N. Davis . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[1]-35, [1]-8, [1]-9, [1]-16, [i]-iii p., 4to, [A]-I^4.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for April 8, 1773. The same newspaper for December 10, 1772 identifies John Allen as "The British Bostonian" who wrote *An Oration Upon the Beauties of Liberty*, no. 91. The title page of *The Watchman's Alarm*, no. 103, lists the "British Bostonian" as the author of both this and the *Oration*. At one time attributed to Isaac Skillman.

Evans 13014, Sabin 1037, 81585.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB.

91a. [ALLEN, JOHN] fl. 1764.

An Oration, Upon the Beauties of Liberty, Or the Essential Rights of the Americans. Delivered At the Second Baptist-Church in Boston. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by D. Kneeland, and N. Davis . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[i]-xiv, [15]-31 p., 12mo, [A]-B^4 C^6 D^2.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for January 7, 1773. For authorship see no. 90. The Dedication is signed "A British Bostonian." At one time attributed to Isaac Skillman.

Evans 13015, Sabin 81586.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL.

91b. [———]. ———.

Same imprint.

[i]-xiv, [15]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

"The Second Edition Corrected" on half-title. Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for January 21, 1773.

Evans 13016, Sabin 81586.

Copies: DLC, InU, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NcD, RPJCB, WHi.

91c. [———]. ———. The Third Edition, carefully corrected by the Author, in which are many Additions . . . By a British Bostonian.

Boston: N. E. Printed and Sold by E. Russell . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[i]-xxix, [30]-80 p., 4to, [A]-K^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for May 17, 1773. This edition revised and enlarged.

Copies: MBAt, MH, MWA, RPJCB.

91d. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition, [&c.]. . . .

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 91c.

Evans 13018, Sabin 81587.

Copies: CtHi, DLC, ICN, MB, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

91e. [———]. ———. ⟨The Third Edition corrected.⟩

New-London: Printed by T. Green, for Joseph Knight . . . M.DCC.LXXIII.

[1]-23 p., 4to, [A]-C^4.

A reprint of no. 91b.

Evans 13017, Sabin 81586.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, NN, RPJCB.

91f. [———]. ———. The Fifth Edition.
Hartford: Reprinted by Ebenezer Watson, 1774.
[1]-40 p., 8vo, [A-B]^{8} C^{4}.
A reprint of no. 91c.
Evans 13627.
Copies: CtHi, WHi.

91g. [———]. ———.
Wilmington, Printed and Sold by James Adams . . . M,DCC,LXXV.
[i]-xi, 12-21 p., 8vo, [A]-C^{4} (C4 blank).
A reprint of no. 91b.
Evans 14457.
Copies: NN, RPJCB.

BOSTON. *Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston . . . to which is Prefixed as Introductory an Attested Copy of a Vote of the Town.* London, 1773, see: 87b.

———. ———. Dublin, 1773, see: 87c.

92. BOSTON.
The Votes and Proceedings Of The Freeholders and other Inhabitants Of the Town of Boston, In Town Meeting Assembled, According to Law, The 5th and 18th days of November. 1773. . . .
Boston: Printed for Joseph Greenleaf . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.
[1]-15 p., 4to, [A]-B^{4}.
Concerning "The petition of a large number of the inhabitants, setting forth—— 'That they are justly alarmed at the report that the *East-India* company in *London* are about shipping a cargo, or cargoes of *tea* into this and other colonies. . . .' "
Evans 12692, Sabin 6567.
Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

93. CHAPLIN, EBENEZER, 1773-1822.
Civil State compared to Rivers, all under God's controul [*sic*], and what People have to do when Administration is grievous. In A Discourse Delivered in Sutton, 2d Parish, January 17, 1773. Being the Day preceeding the Town Meeting, Which then stood Adjourned To consider and act upon the Letter, &c. From Boston. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by John Boyles . . . MDCCLXXIII.

[1]-24 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴.

Evans 12712, Sabin 11966.

Copies: MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, NcD.

94a. CHURCH, BENJAMIN, 1734-1776.

An Oration, Delivered March Fifth, 1773 . . . To Commemorate the Bloody Tragedy Of The Fifth Of March, 1770. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold at the New Printing-Office [J. Greenleaf] . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[1]-20 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴ C².

Evans 12722 lists a Boston, 1773 "Second Edition" in MHi. Only an imperfect copy of this is there. No other copy of a second edition has been located, and it is probably a ghost.

Evans 12721, Sabin 12983.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, ViU.

94b. ———. ———. ⟨The Third Edition, Corrected By the Author.⟩

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[1]-18 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴ C² (C2 blank).

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 18, 1773.

Evans 12723, Sabin 12983.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, NcD, PPL, PPRos, RPJCB.

94c. ———. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Boston: Printed by J. Greenleaf . . . 1773.

[1]-20 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴ C².

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 94a.

Evans 12724, Sabin 12983.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, MHi, MWA, RPJCB.

94d. ———. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Salem: Re-printed by Samuel and Ebenezer Hall . . . 1773.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴.

Copies: NHi, ViU.

95. HOWARD, SIMEON, 1733-1804.

A Sermon Preached To The Ancient And Honorable Artillery-Company, In Boston, New-England, June 7th, 1773. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by John Boyles . . . 1773.

[1]-43 p., 8vo, [A]-E⁴.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for June 17, 1773.

Evans 12813, Sabin 33278.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi.

96a. HUTCHINSON, THOMAS, 1711-1780.

Copy Of Letters Sent to Great-Britain, by his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, the Hon. Andrew Oliver, and several other Persons, Born and Educated Among Us. . . .

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill . . . 1773.

[1]-40 p., 4to, [A]¹ B-F⁴ (F4 blank).

The *Massachusetts Spy* for June 3, 1773, carried a public announcement of the existence of these letters, but they were not issued until sometime after June 9th and before June 17th. The *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for June 10th published a letter of Hutchinson's dated the 9th in which he says that the letters have not yet been made public. The June 17th issue of the same newspaper contains the announcement that they "have been printed and are to be sold by Edes & Gill." Apparently the Committee of Correspondence began sending out copies of the pamphlet to different parts of the country soon thereafter. The printed letter of transmittal (Evans 12690) is dated June 22, 1773. The letters were reprinted extensively in newspapers throughout the colonies during 1773. The following are some of their appearances: *Pennsylvania Journal*, June 30th to July 14th; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 5th to 19th; *New-York Journal*, July 8th to August 19th; *South Carolina Gazette*, August 9th to 23rd; and *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, August 24th to September 7th. The various Boston printings of this pamphlet are complicated by the existence of mixed issues. However, the distinctions given in these entries probably constitute the basic pattern of the book. Two states of this particular issue have been noted. One has an errata on page 40 and the other has it removed and the corrections made. The New York Public Library owns an interesting copy. It lacks the title page, but is otherwise in good condition and in original stitching. It is not impossible that a few copies were issued in this form. In his *Prelude To Inde-*

pendence, New York, 1958, pp. 150-152, Arthur M. Schlesinger tells of the manner in which the Assembly withheld the letters while throwing out hints to arouse public interest. Edes and Gill must have received the text of the pamphlet to be set in type well before the date intended for release and they could easily have circulated a few copies surreptitiously without the title page. The fact that the title was printed on a separate leaf rather than on the blank leaf at the end and then placed at the front of the pamphlet suggests that there might have been a time lag between the printing of the body of the pamphlet and the title page.

Sabin 34071.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

96b. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-40, [1]-8 p., 4to, $[A]^1$ B-E^4 F^3 $[G]^4$.

This is made up of either one of the two states described in no. 96a plus an eight-page addition which contains the resolves of the House of Representatives on the Letters. These eight pages have been noted in three states which may have been issued both separately and with the pamphlet. The *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* notes on June 17th that the text of the Resolves have not been received by the printer and the issue of June 24th prints their text. All three states have caption titles. The first reads: "The Committee appointed to consider certain Letters laid before the House of Representatives, reported the following Resolves. Tuesday, June 15, 1773. Resolved, that the Letters. . . ." The second reads "On Tuesday June 16, 1773, the House of Representatives by a very large Majority came into the following Resolves, upon the Letters that had been laid before them on Wednesday the second of the same Month, viz. Resolved, that the Letters. . . ." The third reads "On Wednesday June 16, 1773, the House of Representatives . . . [&c. the same as the second]." This last state has the correct day of the week and thus determines the order of the issues.

Sabin 34071.

Copies: CSmH, NN, RPJCB.

96c. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-51 p., 4to, $[A]^1$ B-E^4 $[F]^3$ G^4.

This is no. 96a to which has been added pages 41-51 that contain

"Copy of a letter returned with those signed Thomas Hutchinson, Andrew Oliver, &c. from England," which is signed "G. Rome." Evans says that this last part was printed in Philadelphia by Thomas Bradford. However, this is highly unlikely. The Rome Letter appeared in the *Boston Evening Post* for June 28, 1773. Bradford did not print the Hutchinson Letters in his *Pennsylvania Journal* until June 30th. The Letter was also printed as a broadside. See: W. C. Ford's *Broadsides, Ballads &c. Printed in Massachusetts*, no. 1423, where it is incorrectly entered under 1767, the original date of Rome's letter.

Evans 12818.

Copies: DLC.

96d. ———. ———.

Boston: Printed. Salem: Re-printed, and sold by S. & E. Hall. 1773.

[1]-30 p., 4to, [A]-D^4.

A reprint of no. 96a.

Evans 12819, Sabin 34071.

Copies: CtY, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NHi, NN.

96e. ———. The Representations Of Governor Hutchinson and others, Contained In Certain Letters Transmitted to England, And afterwards returned from thence, And laid before the General-Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay. Together With The Resolves Of the Two Houses thereon.

Boston: N. E. Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1773.

1 p. l., [i]-ii, [3]-94 p., 4to, [A]^2 B-M^4 N^2.

A reprint of no. 96c with the proceedings of the House of Representatives added on pages 50-94.

Evans 12820, Sabin 34085.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

96f. ———. The Letters Of Governor Hutchinson, And Lieut. Governor Oliver, &c. Printed at Boston. And Remarks Thereon. With The Assembly's Address, And the Proceedings Of the Lords Committee Of Council. Together with The Substance of Mr. Wedderburn's Speech Relating To Those Letters.

London: Printed for J. Wilkie . . . MDCCLXXIV.

2 p. l., [1]-73, [74-76], *77-*80 p., 1 l., 77-126 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-L^4 (L1 + [-]^1 *L^2) M-Q^4 R^3.

This collection was edited by Israel Mauduit.

Copies: BM, CtY, PHi, RPJCB.

96g. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

1 p. l., [1]-73, [74-76], *77-*80 p., 1 l., 77-78, *79-*80, 79-126 p., 8vo, $[A]^1$ B-L^4 (L_1 + $[-]^1$ $*L^2$, L_3 + $[-]^1$) M-Q^4 R^3.

Differs from no. 96f by the insertion of pages *79-*80, second count, in Wedderburn's speech.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, MiU-C, PPAmP, RPJCB.

96h. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

1 p. l., [1]-73, [74-76], *77-*80 p., 1 l., 77-78, *79-*80, 79-134 p., 8vo, $[A]^1$ B-L^4 (L_1 + $[-]^1$ $*L^2$, L_3 + $[-]^1$) M-Q^4 R^3 S^4.

Same as no. 96g with the Report of the Committee of the Council for Plantation Affairs added in pages 127-134.

Sabin 34072.

Copies: CtY, PPL, RPJCB.

96i. ———. ———. And the Report of the Lords Committee to his Majesty in Council. The Second Edition.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-142 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-I^8 K^7.

A reprint of no. 96h. In the RPJCB copy G2 is a cancel and in MB copy it is not.

Sabin 34072.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, NN, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

96j. ———. ———.

Dublin: Printed for W. Gilbert . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-97 p., 8vo, A-M^4 N^1.

A reprint of no. 96g.

Copies: DLC, MH, RPB, RPJCB.

97. Massachusetts. Governor, 1770-1774 (Thomas Hutchinson).

The Speeches Of His Excellency Governor Hutchinson, To The Gen-

eral Assembly Of The Massachusetts-Bay. At a Session begun and held on the Sixth of January, 1773. With The Answers Of His Majesty's Council And The House Of Representatives Respectively. . . .

Boston; New-England: Printed by Edes And Gill . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[1]-126 p., 4to, [A]-Q^4 (Q_4 blank).

These speeches were printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* between January and March of 1773. The House ordered 700 copies printed for itself and 100 for the Council on March 6, 1773. See: Rollo G. Silver's "Government Printing in Massachusetts: 1751-1801," *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 16 (1963), p. 178.

Evans 12856, Sabin 34086.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

98. [MATHER, SAMUEL] 1706-1785.

An Attempt To Shew, That America Must Be Known To The Ancients; Made At The Request, And To Gratify The Curiosity, Of An Inquisitive Gentleman: To Which Is Added An Appendix, Concerning The American Colonies, And Some Modern Managements Against Them. . . .

Boston New-England: Printed by J. Kneeland . . . for T. Leverett, and H. Knox . . . MDCCLXXIII.

[1]-35 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4, E^2.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 11, 1773. The preface is signed "Samuel Mather."

Evans 12861, Sabin 46792, Holmes 61.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, NjP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

99a. [PROUT, TIMOTHY].

Diana's Shrines Turned Into Ready Money, By Priestly Magic; Or, Virtue Given Up. Being Remarks on Remarks on the Northern Priest's Pamphlet, entitled, A————a known to the A————ts. In a Letter to the Author. ⟨Numb. I.⟩ . . .

New-York: Printed [by Hugh Gaine] in the Year MDCC,LXXIII.

[1]-23 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4.

The introduction to this is a letter dated June 24, 1773, from Hugh Gaine in New York to Ezkeiel Russell in Boston. Apparently Rus-

sell had sent the manuscript of this reply to Samuel Mather's *Attempt to Shew that America Must be known to the Ancients*, Boston, 1773, no. 98, to Gaine in New York to be printed because of the opposition to such a pamphlet in Boston. Gaine says that he is sending five hundred copies of the pamphlet to Russell and will be happy to print other things for him that might be needed. Apparently this caused Sabin to list an edition with the imprint, "Printed by H. G. in New York for E. Russell in Boston." No such copy has been found. For authorship and circumstances of composition see: C. K. Shipton's sketch of Prout in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, vol. XI, p. 56. The only copy of this edition located has the "Appendix" mentioned on the title page of 99b. It begins on page 16. Copies may also have been issued without it.

Copies: MBAt.

99b. [———]. ———. In a Letter to the Author. In which is contained an impartial Appendix, setting forth the Right of the British Parliament, as well as the real Advantages that would arise to the honest Merchant, by the Prevention of the iniquitous Practice of Smuggling . . .

Same imprint and collation.

The alteration in the title page made in standing type. Signature B reset but signatures A and C printed from the same setting as 99a.

Evans 12965, Sabin 66232.

Copies: CtY, MH, MHi, MWA, PPL, RPJCB.

100a. SHIPLEY, JONATHAN, Bp. of St. Asaph, 1714-1788.

A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society For The Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts . . . February 19, 1773.

London: Printed by T. Harrison and S. Brooke . . . MDCCLXXIII.

[i]-xxiv, 1-62 p., 1 l., 8vo, a-c^4 A-H^4.

An extract of this appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for February 17, 1774. This sermon, pleading for a more moderate policy in dealing with the colonies, occupies pages i-xxiv. The last part of the pamphlet is devoted to the administration of the Society. Only the Sermon is reprinted in the editions listed below.

Sabin 80504.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MH, MHi, NHi, NN, NcU, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

100b. ———. ———.

London Printed: Boston, New-England, Re-Printed: And to be Sold by Thomas and John Fleet . . . 1773.

[1]-17 p., 8vo, A-B^4 [C]^1.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for June 10, 1773.

Evans 13009, Sabin 80505.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

100c. ———. ———.

London, Printed: Newport, Rhode-Island, Reprinted and Sold by Solomon Southwick . . . M,DCC,LXXIII.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for June 21, 1773.

Evans 13011, Sabin 80507, Alden 527.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NcU, PPAmP, RPJCB.

100d. ———. ———.

London, Printed: Norwich, Re-printed by Green & Spooner. [1773?].

[1]-19 p., 4to, [A]-B^4 C^2.

Evans 13012, Sabin 80506.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, MBAt, RPJCB.

100e. ———. ———.

New-York: Printed by Hodge And Shober, For Noel And Hazard. M.DCC.LXXIII.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Evans 13010, Sabin 80508.

Copies: CtY, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

100f. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell . . . And Sold by William Woodhouse . . . MDCCLXXIII.

1 p. l., [1]-20 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-C^4 D^1.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for July 5, 1773. Both Evans 13008 and Sabin 80509 list a 1773 edition printed by Robert Aitken.

It is probably a ghost based on an advertisement of Aitken's describing it as "just published" that appeared in three Philadelphia newspapers, the *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 12th, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 14th, and the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* for July 26th. A search of Aitken's Day Books in The Library Company of Philadelphia from July to September 1773 shows that he did handle copies of the pamphlet, but the sale of only three is recorded. This suggests that he may have been selling one of the other American editions, probably the New York one.

Evans 13007, Sabin 80509.

Copies: CSmH, MWA, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

100g. ———. ———. A New Edition.

London, Printed for J. Whiston . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-15 p., 12mo, $[A]^1$ B^6 $[C]^1$.

Sabin 80510.

Copies: BM, InU, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, MHi, NN, PPAmP.

101. TRUMBULL, BENJAMIN, 1735-1820.

A Discourse, Delivered At The Anniversary Meeting Of The Freemen Of The Town Of New-Haven, April 12, 1773. . . .

New-Haven: Printed By Thomas and Samuel Green. M,DCC,LXXIII.

[1]-38 p., 8vo, $[A]$-E^4 (E4 blank).

Evans 13049, Sabin 97184.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, NjP, RPJCB.

1774

[ALLEN, JOHN]. *An Oration, upon the Beauties of Liberty.* Hartford, 1774, see: 91f.

102. ALLEN, JOHN.

[The Patriotic Whisper In the Ears of the King; Or The Grand request Of The People of America made manifest . . . Being a Political Oration. . . .]

[Boston: Printed by T. and J. Fleet, 1774.]

A proposal to print this by subscription appeared in the *Boston Evening Post* for August 8, 1774. No copy has been located and it is unlikely that the publication was ever carried out. General Gage was in com-

mand at Boston with a large number of troops. The Fleets, who at this time were trying to maintain a neutral position, might well have felt that such a pamphlet would not be a wise publication.

Evans 13103.

103. [ALLEN, JOHN].

The Watchman's Alarm To Lord N---H; Or, The British Parliamentary Boston Port-Bill unwraped. Being An Oration On The Meridian of Liberty . . . By the British Bostonian. Author of the Oration on the Beauties of Liberty, the American Alarm, &c. . . .

Salem: N. E. Printed by E. Russell . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-32 p., 4to, [A]-D⁴, frontispiece.

For note on authorship see no. 90. Evans gives Samuel and Ebenezer Hall as the printer. No copy with their names in the imprint has been located. He probably intended to record this printing. The frontispiece is a cartoon: *The able Doctor or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*, 3⅝ x 5¾", a re-engraving of a cartoon that first appeared in the *London Magazine* for April, 1774. See: C. S. Brigham's *Paul Revere's Engravings*, Worcester, 1954, pp. 85-86 and plate 35. The cartoon in this pamphlet was probably copied from the London impression and not from Revere's copy. See also: the British Museum's *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, vol. V [London], 1935, no. 5226.

Evans 13757, Sabin 102051.

Copies: NHi, RPJCB.

104a. A Brief Review Of The Rise And Progress, Services and Sufferings, Of New England, Especially The Province of Massachuset's-Bay. [*sic*] Humbly submitted to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

London: Printed for J. Buckland . . . MDCCLXXIV. . . .

[1]-32 p., 8vo, A-D⁴.

Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for May 30, 1774.

Sabin 7896.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

104b. ———. ⟨Lately published in England.⟩

Norwich: Printed By Robertsons And Trumbull. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B⁴.

Evans 13177, Sabin 7896.

Copies: CSmH, MB, MWiW-C, MiU-C, RPJCB.

105a. [Cartwright, John] 1740-1824.

American Independence The Interest And Glory Of Great Britain; Or, Arguments to prove, that not only in Taxation, but in Trade, Manufactures, and Government, the Colonies are entitled to an entire Independence on [*sic*] the British Legislature. . . .

London: Printed for the Author, by H. S. Woodfall. Sold by J. Wilkie. . . . M.DCC.LXXIV.

[i]-xvi, [i]-iv, [1]-72 p., 8vo, a-b^4 c^2 B-K^4.

An extract appears in the *Newport Mercury* for January 23, 1775, and in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for February 16 and 23, 1776. This consists of ten letters, dated from March 20 to April 14, 1774, that appeared first in a London newspaper. In F. D. Cartwright's *The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright*, London, 1826, vol. II, p. 53, is quoted a letter by the author in which he says "My letters on American Independence are now in press."

Sabin 11152.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MH, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

105b. [———]. ———. A New Edition. To which is added, A copious Appendix. . . .

London: Printed for the Author, by H. S. Woodfall. Sold by J. Wilkie. . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

1 p. l., [i]-xvi, [i]-iv, [1]-72, 1-15, [1]-30, 1-51, [1] p., (last p. Errata), folding map, 8vo, [-]^2, a^3 b^4 c^2 B-K^4 a-b^4, A-C^4 D^3, A-F^4 G^2.

This consists of the sheets of 105a with a half-title and new title page and all after page 72 added. Pages 1-15, second count, is *Appendix, To the Legislature;* 1-30, third count, is *A Letter to Edmund Burke* with special title page; 1-51 is a *Postscript.* The Errata on the last page corrects errors in all parts of the book. The map is entitled *British America, Bounded and Divided as proposed by the Author of American Independence. MDCCLXXV. Postscript P. 45,* and measures 7 9/16 x 9¾.

Sabin 11154.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

105c. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed and Sold by Robert Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[i]-xxiii, [25]-125 p., 1 l., 8vo, [A]-Q^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 31, 1776. A reprint of no. 105a. Pages 121-125 . . . "Extract From the Monthly Review." Leaf at end "Character of the work From the English Monthly Reviewers."

Evans 14673, Sabin 11153.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

106a. [CHANDLER, THOMAS BRADBURY] 1726-1790.

The American Querist: Or, Some Questions Proposed Relative To The Present Disputes Between Great-Britain And Her American Colonies. By a North-American. . . .

[New York] Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year 1774.

2 p. l., [1]-31 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-E^4.

At one time attributed to Myles Cooper. For authorship see: C. H. Vance's "Myles Cooper," *Columbia University Quarterly*, vol. XXII (1930), pp. 275-276.

Evans 13220, Sabin 16586, Hewlett 88.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

106b. [———]. ———. The Tenth Edition.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774. . . .

2 p. l., [1]-31 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-E^4.

At the bottom of the title page is the following note: "This pamphlet, on the 8th Day of September last, was, in full Conclave of the Sons of Liberty in New York, committed to the Flames. . . ." Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 106a with title page reset.

Evans 13221, Sabin 16586, Hewlett 8.

Copies: BM, CtY, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

106c. [———]. ———. The Eleventh edition.

Same imprint with note at bottom.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Hewlett 9.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, MBAt.

106d. [———]. ———.

Boston: Re-printed by Mills and Hicks . . . 1774.

[1]-32 p., 4to, [A]-D⁴.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for September 29, 1774.

Evans 13222, Sabin 16586.

Copies: CtY, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, RPJCB.

106e. [———]. ———.

Printed in North-America, in 1774. London: Reprinted for T. Caddel [*sic*] . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

[1]-55 p., 8vo, A-G⁴.

Sabin lists an "Eleventh Edition" printed in London but no copy has been located. He probably confused it with no. 106c.

Sabin 16586.

Copies: BM, MiU-C, NHi, PHi, RPJCB.

107a. [Chandler, Thomas Bradbury] 1726-1790.

A Friendly Address To All Reasonable Americans, On The Subject Of Our Political Confusions: In Which The Necessary Consequences Of Violently Opposing the King's Troops, And Of A General Non-Importation Are Fairly Stated. . . .

New-York: Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-55, [1] p. (last p. errata), 8vo, A-G⁴.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for November 17, 1774. At one time attributed to Myles Cooper. See: C. H. Vance's article cited in no. 106a. In the *Adams Papers Microfilms*, reel 344, under the assigned date of 1774 is a draft of a reply to this.

Evans 13224, Sabin 16587, Hewlett 89.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPRos, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

107b. [———]. ———.

America: [Boston] Printed for the Purchasers [by Mills & Hicks], 1774. . . .

[1]-55 p., 4to, A-G⁴.

Assigned to Mills & Hicks because of the similarity to the type used by them and because they advertised the pamphlet "In press and speedily will be published . . ." in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for November 17, 1774. See also: *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. LXI (1927-1928), pp. 302-303.

Evans 13225.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

107c. [———]. ———.

New-York, Printed: London, Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart . . . 1774.

[1]-56 p., 8vo, A-G⁴.

Sabin 16587.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPL, RPJCB.

107d. [———]. ———.

New-York, Printed: Dublin, Reprinted by Mary Hay, 1775.

[1]-56 p., 8vo, A-G⁴.

Sabin 16587.

Copies: CSmH, ICN, RPJCB.

107e. [———]. ———. Carefully abridged from the Original.

New-York: Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, A-C⁴.

Evans 13226, Sabin 16588, Hewlett 90.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPRos, PPL, RPJCB.

108. [CHAUNCY, CHARLES] 1705-1787.

A Letter To A Friend. Giving a concise, but just, representation of the hardships and sufferings the town of Boston is exposed to, and must undergo in consequence of the late Act of the British-Parliament; which, by shutting up its port, has put a fatal bar in the way of that commercial business on which it depended . . . By T. W. A Bostonian.

Boston, N. E. Printed and Sold at Greenleaf's Printing Office . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-35 p., 8vo, [A]-D⁴.

Evans 13197, Sabin 12321, Ford-Chauncy 52.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, RPJCB.

109. [Comment On A Pamphlet by "A Backsettler" In defence of the Rights of America. By a Carolinian.]

[Charlestown, S. C. Peter Timothy, 1774.]

Evans apparently took this from Haven's "Catalogue of Publications in what is now the United States, Prior to the Revolution" in Isaiah Thomas's *The History of Printing in America*, Albany, 1874, vol. II, p. 642. No copy has been located. If it was printed, it was a reply to *Some Fugitive Thoughts on a Letter Signed Freeman*, Charleston, 1774, no. 142, which in turn was a reply to Drayton's *A Letter from Freeman of South Carolina*, Charleston, 1774, no. 111.

Evans 13204.

110a. [Dickinson, John] 1732-1808.

An Essay On The Constitutional Power Of Great-Britain Over The Colonies In America; With The Resolves Of The Committee For The Province Of Pennsylvania, And Their Instructions To their Representatives In Assembly.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold, by William and Thomas Bradford . . . M.DCC.LXXIV.

[i]-vii, [1]-127, [1] p. (last p. errata and "Appendix"), 8vo, A^4 A-Q^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for August 31, 1774, and in the *Maryland Gazette* for May 11, 1775. Two states of signatures K-M noted, may be distinguished by catchwords on page 81, "stature" and "ture." A reply will be found in Thomas Pownall's *The Administration of the Colonies. Fifth Edition*, London, 1774, nos. 5e and f.

Evans 13247, Sabin 20040.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

110b. [———]. A New Essay ⟨By the Pennsylvanian Farmer⟩ On The Constitutional Power Of Great-Britain [&c.]. . . .

Philadelphia Printed; and London Re-printed for J. Almon . . . 1774.

[i]-viii, [1]-126 p., 1 l. (last l. advts.), 8vo, [-]^4 A-Q^4.

Sabin 20046.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

[DICKINSON, JOHN]. *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania.* London, 1774, see: 54j.

111. [DRAYTON, WILLIAM HENRY] 1742-1779.

A Letter From Freeman [*sic*] Of South-Carolina, To The Deputies Of North-America, Assembled In The High Court of Congress At Philadelphia.

South-Carolina: Charles-Town, Printed By Peter Timothy. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-47 p., 4to, [-]^{1} A-E^{4} F^{3}.

Drayton's authorship is established in letter he sent to the Earl of Dartmouth when he sent him a copy of the pamphlet. See: W. M. Dabney and M. Dargan's *William Henry Drayton & the American Revolution*, Albuquerque, 1962, p. 59.

Evans 13256, Sabin 40277.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MiU-C, NN, PPRos, PPL, RPJCB.

112. [DRINKER, JOHN] 1733-1800.

Observations On The Late Popular Measures, Offered to the Serious Considerations of the Sober Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, By A. Tradesman of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia: Printed For A Tradesman. MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C^{4}.

This consists of two essays, one dated August 5th and the other August 20, 1774. The former first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for August 17, 1774, under the title "Some Observations offered to the serious consideration of the sober Inhabitants of this city and Province." The attribution is from the Library of Congress Catalog. Evans credits the pamphlet to John Brooke. Two states noted, one with and one without errata slip pasted on page 4.

Evans 13179, Sabin 20950 & 56528.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MiU-C, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

113. [FISHER, JABEZ?].

Americanus Examined, And His Principles Compared With Those Of The Approved Advocates For America, By A Pennsylvanian.

Philadelphia: Printed In The Year, MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C^{4}.

This is a reprint, with commentary, of a letter signed "Americanus" written by Joseph Galloway that first appeared in the *New-York Gazette* for August 15, 1765. It later appeared, paragraphed with Franklin's *Examination,* in both the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 25, 1766. In the latter newspaper is a letter signed by Galloway in which he acknowledges authorship of the "Americanus" letter. The commentary is in the form of extensive footnotes and a brief essay. It is attributed to Jabez Fisher by Evans. He was probably a member of a Quaker family of Philadelphia, a number of whom were Loyalists.

Evans 13277, Sabin 1275.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

114. Fisk, Nathan, 1733-1799.

The Importance of Righteousness to the Happiness, and the Tendency of Oppression to the Misery of a People; illustrated In Two Discourses Delivered at Brookfield, July 4. 1774. Being a Day observed by general Consent through the Province, (At The Recommendation of the Late House of Representatives) As A Day of Fasting and Prayer. . . .

Boston: Printed by John Kneeland . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-40 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4.

Evans 13278, Sabin 24553.

Copies: CtHi, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN.

115. [Franklin, Benjamin] 1706-1790.

The Causes Of The Present Distractions In America Explained: In Two Letters To A Merchant In London. By F——— B———.

[New York] Printed [by James Rivington] in the Year 1774.

1 p. l., [1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]^1 B-C^4.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for November 27, 1774. For authorship, earlier publication in various periodicals, and comment see: Verner W. Crane's "Certain Writings of Benjamin Franklin on the British Empire and the American Colonies," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* vol. XXVIII (1934), pp. 12-15 and his *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775,* Chapel Hill, 1950, pp. 106-107, 268, 277-278. At one time attributed to Francis Bernard.

Evans 13147, Sabin 4929, Hewlett 91.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

116. [HAMILTON, ALEXANDER] 1757-1804.

A Full Vindication Of The Measures of the Congress, From The Calumnies of their Enemies; In Answer to A Letter, Under the Signature of A. W. Farmer. . . .

New-York: Printed by James Rivington. 1774.

[1]-35 p., 8vo, A-D^4 E^2.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for December 15, 1774. A reply to Samuel Seabury's *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress,* New York, 1774, no. 136. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer,* White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of Publications of the *Westchester County Historical Society* and H. C. Syrett's edition of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton,* New York, 1961, vol. I, pp. 45-79.

Evans 13313, Sabin 29956, Ford-*Hamilton* 1, Hewlett 10.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

117a. HANCOCK, JOHN, 1737-1793.

An Oration; Delivered March 5, 1774 . . . To Commemorate The Bloody Tragedy of the Fifth of March 1770. . . .

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-20 p., 4to, [-]^2 [A]-D^2.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 24, 1774. W. V. Wells in his *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams,* Boston, 1865, vol. II, pp. 138-140, says this was written by Samuel Adams, but he cites no documentary evidence. A. H. Cushing does not include it in *The Writings of Samuel Adams,* Boston, 1904, but he prints a letter from Adams to John Dickinson of April 12, 1774, in which he says he is sending him a copy, but makes no mention of having contributed to it. In his "Autobiography," written between 1802 and 1805, John Adams says that on May 13, 1776, Samuel Adams informed him that Benjamin Church and Joseph Warren composed at least two thirds of this piece. However he was not aware of this at the time he heard it delivered. See *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* edited by L. H. Butterfield, 1961, vol. II, pp. 89-90, vol. III, p. 384. Philip Davidson in his *Propaganda and the American Revolution,* Chapel Hill, 1941, p. 197, says the speech has been attributed to Samuel Cooper. In all probability a number of Boston radicals had a hand in its composition.

Evans 13314, Sabin 30177.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

117b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Advertised in the *Boston Gazette* for April 4, 1774.

Evans 13315, Sabin 30177.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, NN, PPL, PPRos, RPJCB, ViU.

117c. ———. ———.

Newport, Rhode-Island: Reprinted and Sold by S. Southwick . . . 1774.

[1]-19 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4 C^2.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for April 11, 1774.

Evans 13317, Sabin 30177, Alden 542.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, NHi, RPJCB.

117d. ———. ———.

New-Haven: Re-Printed by Thomas and Samuel Green. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Evans 13316, Sabin 30177.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB.

117e. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed by J. Douglass M'Dougall . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-23 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Ledger* November 11, 1775.

Evans 14097.

Copies: DLC, NN, PHi, PPAmP.

118. Holly, Israel, fl. 1763-1784.

God Brings about his holy and wise Purpose or Decree, Concerning many particular Events, by using and improving the wicked Dispositions of Mankind in Order there to . . . Briefly Illustrated In A Sermon, Preached at Suffield, December 27, 1773 the next Sabbath after the report arrived, that the People at Boston had Destroyed a large Quantity of Tea . . . Rather than submit to Parliamentary Acts. . . .

Hartford: Printed by Eben. Watson . . . 1774.

[1]-23 p., 4to, [A]-C^4.

Evans 13333, Sabin 32564.
Copies: CtHi, CtY, NN.

HUTCHINSON, THOMAS. *The Letters of Governor Hutchinson.* London, 1774, see: 96f, 96g, 96h, 96i.

———. ———. Dublin, 1774, see: 96j.

119a. [JEFFERSON, THOMAS] 1743-1826.

A Summary View Of The Rights Of British America. Set Forth In Some Resolutions Intended For The Inspection Of The Present Delegates Of The People Of Virginia. Now In Convention. . . .

Williamsburg: Printed by Clementina Rind [1774].

[1]-23 p., 8vo, [A]-C⁴.

Probably printed in August of 1774. Julian P. Boyd's "Historical and Bibliographical Notes on *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Appendix I, vol. I, Princeton, 1950, pp. 669-676, gives a full account of the composition and the circumstances under which the pamphlet was printed in Jefferson's absence and without his knowledge. Following the appearance of the first volume of the *Papers*, in which the DLC copy of this edition with Jefferson's manuscript was used, two more copies with his annotations were found in PPL. None of these alterations found their way into subsequent editions, all of which are reprints of this one.

Evans 13350, Sabin 35918.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

119b. [———]. ———.

Williamsburg: Printed: Philadelphia: Re-Printed by John Dunlap. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-23 p., 8vo, [A]-C⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 5, 1774.

Evans 13351, Sabin 35918.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

119c. [———]. ———.

Williamsburg, Printed by Clementina Rind. London, Re-printed for G. Kearsly . . . 1774.

[i]-xvi, [5]-44 p., 8vo, $[A]^4$ a^4 B-F^4.

To this edition is added an address "To the King" signed "Tribunus" which is attributed to Arthur Lee. The address was also issued separately, because the *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter) for January 14, 1775, prints a news note from London saying that copies of the address are being given away free to Englishmen who have received copies of American editions of the pamphlet. It was also printed in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for March 2, 1775.

Sabin 35918.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NcD, NcU, ViU.

119d. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Boyd, in his discussion cited in 119a, page 673, recapitulates the mentions from time to time of a Norfolk edition (Evans 13352), a Boston, and a New York edition. No copies of any of these editions have been found. They are ghosts derived from advertisements for the London edition in London newspapers.

Sabin 35918.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MH, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, RPJCB.

120a. [Knox, William] 1732-1810.

The Interest of the Merchants And Manufacturers of Great Britain, In The Present Contest With The Colonies, Stated and Considered.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

1 p.l., [1]-50 p., 8vo, $[A]^1$ B-G^4 H^1.

The authorship established by the fact that this is one of the pamphlets included in the volume made up by Knox mentioned in the note under no. 17a.

Sabin 34885.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

120b. [———]. ———.

Cork: Printed for Mary Edwards . . . by Dennis Donnoghue . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, A^4 $[B]^4$ C^4.

Copies: DLC.

120c. [———]. ———.

Dublin: Printed by the Executors of David Hay . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C⁴.

Copies: MiU-C, NjP.

120d. [———]. ———.

London: Printed, Boston: Re-printed, and sold by Draper's Printing-Office . . . [1775].

[1]-20 p., 12mo, A⁴ B⁶.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 9, 1775.

Evans 14129, Sabin 34885.

Copies: CSmH, MB, MH, MWA, RPJCB.

121. LATHROP, JOHN, 1740-1816.

A Discourse Preached, December 15th 1774. Being The Day Recommended By the Provincial Congress, To Be Observed In thanksgiving to God. . . .

Boston: Printed by D. Kneeland; and Sold by Samuel Webb . . . 1774.

[1]-39 p., 8vo, [A]-E⁴.

In at least some copies the "i" and "c" in Provincial are corrections in pen and ink, probably made by the printer.

Evans 13370, Sabin 39178.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NN, NcD, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

122. LATHROP, JOHN, 1740-1816.

A Sermon Preached To the Ancient and Honorable Artilery-Company In Boston, New-England, June 6th 1774. Being the Anniversary of their Election of Officers. . . .

Boston: Printed by Kneeland and Davis, for Samuel Webb . . . 1774.

[1]-39 p., 8vo, [A]-E⁴.

Evans 13371, Sabin 39186.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, NcD, NjP, PPL, RPJCB.

123a. [LEE, ARTHUR] 1740-1792.

An Appeal To The Justice And Interests Of The People Of Great Britain, In The Present Disputes With America. By An Old Member of Parliament.

London: Printed For J. Almon . . . MDCCLXXIV.

2 p. l., [1]-63, [4] p. (last 4 pp. advts.), 8vo, [A]^2 B-H^4 I^2 K^4.

Franklin saw this through the press. See: Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, p. li. Reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie) for April 7 to 21, 1775 and *Rivington's Gazette* for September 14 to October 12, 1775. A sequel is Lee's *A Second Appeal To The Justice and Interests of the People, On The Measures Respecting America*, London, 1775, which was not reprinted in pamphlet form in America. However, an extract of it did appear in the *Connecticut Journal* for May 22, 1776.

Sabin 39697.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

123b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition, Corrected.

London: Printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-68, [4] p. (last 4 pp. advts.), 8vo, [A]^2 B-I^4 [K]^2.

Sabin 39698.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PP, PPL, RPJCB.

123c. [———]. ———. The Third Edition, Corrected.

Same imprint.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, A-D^4.

Sabin 39697.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

123d. ———. ———. By Doctor Lee, Of Virginia. The Fourth Edition.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, A-D^4.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for September 28, 1775.

Evans 14147, Sabin 39698, Hewlett 34.

Copies: CSmH, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, PHi, RPJCB.

123e. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition, Corrected.

London: Printed For J. Almon . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-46 p., 1 l. (last l. advts.), 8vo, A-F^4.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

123f. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition, Corrected.

London Printed: Reprinted at Newcastle Upon Tyne, by Robson, Angus, and Co. . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-72 p., 8vo, A-I⁴.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

124a. [LEE, ARTHUR] 1740-1792, editor.

A True State Of The Proceedings In the Parliament of Great Britain, And In The Province of Massachusetts Bay, Relative To The Giving and Granting the Money of the People of that Province, and of all America, in the House of Commons, in which they are not represented.

[London: Printed by William Strahan 1774.]

[1]-24 p., folio, A-F².

Caption title.

Compiled by Lee from material furnished by Benjamin Franklin. See: Verner W. Crane's *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, pp. li, 236.

Sabin 39706.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, MB, MH, MWA, NN, PPL.

124b. [———]. ———.

London, Printed: Philadelphia: Re-printed by Joseph Crukshank . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-39 p., 8vo, A-E⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 18, 1774.

Evans 13282.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MiU-C, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

125a. [LEE, CHARLES] 1731-1782.

Strictures On A Pamphlet, Entitled, A "Friendly Address To All Reasonable Americans, On The Subject of our Political Confusions." Addressed To The People Of America. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by William and Thomas Bradford . . . M.DCC.LXXIV.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, A-B⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for November 30, 1774, and in the *New-York Journal* for December 15, 1774. Publication was announced in *Rivington's Gazette* in New York in the issue of November 17, 1774 and offered for sale in the issue of December 8, 1774. It was reprinted in a number of newspapers among which were: *South Carolina Gazette* for December 26, 1774, *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* for January 10, 1775, *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for January 26, 1775 and (Purdie) for February 3, 1775. Evans 13373 lists an edition with the imprint "America [New York] Printed for the purchasers. 1774. 8vo." It is a ghost. Actually, his 13373 is the same as his 13225, the Boston edition of Chandler's *Friendly Address* (no. 107b), to which this Lee pamphlet is an answer.

Evans 13372, Sabin 39714.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

125b. [———]. ———.

America: Boston: Re-Printed and sold at Greenleaf's Printing-Office . . . M,DCC,LXX,V.

[1]-20 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4 C^2.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for January 5, 1775.

Evans 14151, Sabin 39714.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

125c. [———]. ———.

New-York, Printed. Boston: Re-printed and sold by I. Thomas . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-12 p., 12mo, [A]^6.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for January 12, 1775, where the publisher says, "This pamphlet, which has been sold for 6s. OT. is now republished by I. Thomas . . . for the small price of two coppers, in order that every person who is desirous of seeing so well wrote a piece on the subject of our political controversy, may be possessed therewith. N.B. Those who cannot afford to purchase may have it gratis. . . ." The pamphlet was clearly printed at the least possible expense; not only is it a small duodecimo but the type is extremely small and the page is crowded.

It is impossible to give a completely satisfactory explanation for the

appearance of New York in the above imprint. There has never been any suggestion in the bibliographies or elsewhere that there was a New York printing before the publication of this edition. It is true that James Rivington, the New York printer, announced the publication of this title in his newspaper, *Rivington's Gazette*, for November 17, 1774. This was two weeks before the appearance of the first edition in Philadelphia (no. 125a) and was worded "In a few days will be published, and sold by the Booksellers. . . ." On December 8, a week after the Philadelphia publication, he advertised it for sale along with nine other political pamphlets. The form of these two advertisements makes it very unlikely that the publication was a Rivington imprint. Had he been offering his own edition he would not have included other booksellers or other pamphlets in the announcements. In all likelihood he was selling the Philadelphia edition.

There still remains the question of where Isaiah Thomas got the text from which he printed this edition and why he assigned it to New York. One explanation could be that he was the victim of the same confusion about the three titles in this series that has plagued later bibliographers and that in his haste to get this edition printed used the imprint of the pamphlet that started it all, Chandler's *Friendly Address*, New York, 1774 (no. 107a). Another explanation could be that he copied from the other Boston edition printed by Greenleaf (no. 125b). This was probably the one he meant when he referred to a high priced edition in his advertisement. Greenleaf did not give the place of origin of the edition from which he copied his edition and Thomas may have assumed it was New York. The explanation may also lie in a combination of these two factors and perhaps some others that we do not know about. It would be a mistake to say that there was never a New York edition printed in 1774 or during the first week or so of 1775. The thirty-odd items in this bibliography reported in a single copy and those few entries for items that may have been printed, but for which we have no copies makes clear the very real possibility that there were pamphlets of which no copies have survived.

Evans 14152, Sabin 39714.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, MWA, RPJCB.

125d. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed: Newport: Reprinted and Sold by S. Southwick . . . 1775.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for January 9, 1775.

Evans 14155, Sabin 39714, Alden 606.

Copies: MHi, RPJCB.

125e. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed: Providence, Reprinted and Sold by John Carter ... 1775.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Advertised in the *Providence Gazette* for January 21, 1775.

Sabin 92831, Alden 607.

Copies: NHi, RPJCB.

125f. [———]. ———. The Second Edition. To which is prefixed An Advertisement, Wrote by a Gentleman in Connecticut.

Philadelphia, Printed: New-London: Re-printed and sold by T. Green. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B^4.

The prefix is attributed to Silas Deane by J. H. Trumbull in his *List of Books Printed in Connecticut 1709-1800*, Hartford, 1904, p. 1441.

Evans 14154, Sabin 39714.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, MH, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

[———]. ———.

[New York] Printed in the Year 1775.

[13]-25 p.

This is a part of Rivington's edition of Barry's reply to Lee's pamphlet, no. 151b. It was not issued separately.

126. A Letter From A Veteran, To The Officers Of The Army Encamped At Boston.

[New York] America: Printed [By Hugh Gaine] In The Year, 1774.

[1]-19, [1] p. (last p. errata), 8vo, A-B^4 C^2.

This has been assigned to Gaine because all but one of the eleven type ornaments used in this pamphlet are also found in the *Laws ... of the City of New York* also printed by him in 1774. The authorship of this has frequently been attributed to Captain Robert Prescott, 1725-1816, who served with the 15th Foot in America.

Evans 13554, Sabin 40316.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PHi, RPJCB, ViU.

127a. A Letter From A Virginian, To The Members of the Congress To Be Held At Philadelphia. On The first of September, 1774.

[New York] Printed [by Hugh Gaine] In The Year 1774.

1 p. l., [1]-29 p., 4to, [-]^{1} [A]-C^{4} D^{3}.

The printing of this pamphlet has been assigned to Gaine because the manner in which type ornaments are used is similar to that found in other things printed by him and because three of those ornaments appear in other Gaine imprints of the same year (Evans nos. 13309, 13471, and 13472). The authorship has sometimes been attributed to Jonathan Boucher, the Maryland Loyalist. However, there appears to be no direct evidence to support this and Boucher himself fails to make any mention of it in his *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist,* Boston, 1925.

Evans 13167, Sabin 40317.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPRos, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

127b. ———.

Boston: Re-printed and Sold by Mills and Hicks . . . 1774.

[1]-31 p., 4to, [A]-B^{4} D-E^{4}.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for September 1, 1774.

Evans 13168, Sabin 40317.

Copies: CtY, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NN, RPJCB, ViU.

127c. ———.

Boston: Re-printed and Sold by Mills and Hicks . . . and Cox and Berry . . . M,DDC,LXXIV. [*sic*]

[1]-32 p., 4to, [A]-D^{4}.

Evans 13169 lists a 24-page Boston edition in MHi but it is in fact a defective copy of this. Evans 13170 also lists another Boston 1774 edition of 50 pages. No such printing has been located and it is probably a ghost entry based on no. 127d.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MWA, PPL.

127d. ———.

Boston, printed: London, reprinted; for J. Wilkie . . . 1774. . . .

1 p. l., [5]-50 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-F^{4} G^{3}.

Sabin 40317.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, InU, MBAt, MWiW-C, NcD.

128. [Livingston, Philip] 1716-1778.

The Other Side of the Question: Or, A Defence Of The Liberties of North-America. In Answer To A Late Friendly Address To All Reasonable Americans, On The Subject Of Our Political Confusions. By A Citizen.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-29, [1] p., 1 l. (last l. advt.), 8vo, A-D⁴.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for December 8, 1774 and in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for January 5, 1775. A reply to Thomas Bradbury Chandler's *A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans*, New York, 1774, no. 107. Attributed to Livingston by Evans.

Evans 13381, Sabin 41634, Hewlett 16.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPRos, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

129. [Nicholas, Robert Carter] 1728-1780?

Considerations On The Present State Of Virginia Examined.

[Williamsburg] Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-43 p., 8vo, [A]-E⁴ F².

Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for August 25, 1774. A reply to John Randolph's *Considerations*, Williamsburg, 1774, no. 133. For authorship see: Heartman reprint cited in note under that entry.

Evans 13500, Sabin 55170.

Copies: DLC, NN.

Pownall, Thomas. *The Administration of the Colonies. The Fifth Edition.* London, 1774, see: 5e.

130. [Prescott, Benjamin] 1687-1777.

A Free And Calm Consideration Of The Unhappy Misunderstandings and Debates, Which Have Of late Years arisen, and yet subsist, Between the Parliament of Great-Britain, and These American Colonies. Contained, In Eight Letters . . . Formerly printed in the Essex Gazette. . . .

Salem: Printed by S. and E. Hall, 1774.

[1]-52 p., 4to, A-F⁴ G².

The letters are dated from August 16, 1768 to July 30, 1770. Attribution from Evans.

Evans 13553, Sabin 65236.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB, ViU.

131a. [PRIESTLEY, JOSEPH] 1733-1804.

An Address To Protestant Dissenters Of All Denominations, On the Approaching Election of Members of Parliament, With respect to the State of Public Liberty in General, And Of American Affairs in Particular.

London: Printed for Joseph Johnson . . . 1774. . . .

[1]-16 p., 8vo, A^8.

Reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind) for December 22, 1774. Verner W. Crane suggests that Franklin may have had a hand in this in his *Benjamin Franklin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775*, Chapel Hill, 1950, p. li.

Sabin 65500.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

131b. [———]. ———.

London, Printed. Philadelphia, Re-Printed: And Sold By James Humphreys . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for October 12, 1774.

Evans 13556, Sabin 65500.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MWA, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

131c. [———]. ———.

London, Printed A.D. 1774. Boston, New-England: Re-Printed by Thomas and John Fleet . . . 1774.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, A-B^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for October 17, 1774.

Evans 13555, Sabin 65500.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

131d. [———. ———.]

[Wilmington: Printed by James Adams, 1774].

No copy of this printing has been located and it may be a ghost. The

Pennsylvania Packet for September 26, October 17 and 24 carried the following advertisement about the pamphlet, "Wilmington, Sept 23, 1774. Just published and sold by James Adams, at his Printing office in Wilmington, as well as the printer hereof [John Dunlap] and by William Carson, at the Harp and Crown in Third Street, Philadelphia." Normally we would assume that Adams and the others were selling the London edition because the Philadelphia edition (no. 131b) had not yet been printed. However, the fact that two Philadelphia agents were selling the pamphlet for Adams instead of importing it directly raises some doubt about such an assumption. When coupled with the fact that the next year Adams participated in the publication of political pamphlets to the extent of issuing an edition of John Allen's *Oration on the Beauties of Liberty*, no. 91g, of which only two copies have been located for the census, there is the distinct possibility that there was a Wilmington edition. In addition to the above there are two other editions recorded that are most probably ghosts. Evans in a note to no. 131b suggested that there may have been a 12mo Boston edition. No copy has been located nor has any 1775 Boston edition as recorded by Sabin been located.

Evans 13557, Sabin 65500.

132a. Quincy, Josiah, 1744-1775.

Observations On The Act Of Parliament Commonly Called The Boston Port-Bill; With Thoughts On Civil Society And Standing Armies....

Boston: N. E. Printed For And Sold By Edes And Gill . . . 1774.

1 p. l., [1]-82 p., 8vo, $[1]^2$ [A]-K^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for May 30, 1774, the *Maryland Gazette* for August 25, 1774, and the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind) for August 25, 1774. The first part was published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for July 4, 1774. No doubt the second part failed to appear because of the publication of no. 132b. The MB copy belonged to the author and has his MS corrections.

Evans 13561, Sabin 67192.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, RPJCB, ViU.

132b. ———. ———.

Philadelphia. Printed For John Sparhawk MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-60 p., 8vo, [A]-G^4 H^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 4, 1774.

Evans 13562, Sabin 67192.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PP, PPL, RPJCB.

132c. ———. ———.

Boston, N. E. Printed. London: Re-printed for Edward and Charles Dilly . . . MDCCLXXIV.

4 p. l., [1]-80 p., 8vo, [A]-L⁴.

Sabin 67192.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

133. [RANDOLPH, JOHN] 1727-1784.

Considerations On The Present State of Virginia.

[Williamsburg] Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXIV.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C⁴.

Published sometime before July 28, 1774, because a poem in answer to it appears in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for that date. For authorship see: the introduction by Earl G. Swem to the reprint issued by Charles F. Heartman, New York, 1919. Robert Carter Nicholas' *Considerations*, Williamsburg, 1774, no. 129, is a reply.

Copies: MWA, NN, NjP, PPAmP.

134a. [ROKEBY, MATTHEW ROBINSON-MORRIS, 2nd baron] 1713-1800.

Considerations On The Measures Carrying On With Respect To The British Colonies In North America. . . .

London, Sold by R. Baldwin . . . [1774].

2 p. l., [1]-160 p., 8vo, [A]² B-X⁴.

The *South Carolina Gazette* for September 19, 1774 advertised this pamphlet for sale, but it is not possible to tell which edition was involved. States have been noted with a fifteen-line errata slip that is found either as an extra leaf at the end or pasted on the verso of the half-title. There is also a second form of the errata slip with an extra line pasted on the bottom of it. Authorship from the Library of Congress Catalog. Two issues noted, one with and one without "April 1774" at the end.

Sabin 72151.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

134b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition With Additions and an Appendix. . . .

London, Printed for R. Baldwin . . . E. and C. Dilly . . . J. Johnson . . . Richardson and Co. . . . and J. Almon . . . [1774].

2 p. l., [1]-56, 65-176, 1-45 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-D^8 E^4 F-M^8 *A-*B^8 *C^7.

The text on pages 49-56 is a shortened version of that appearing in no. 134a. The opening sentence of the Appendix indicates that it was written in November of 1774.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NN, PHi, RPJCB, WHi.

134c. [———]. ———. The Second Edition [&c.]. . . .

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-176, 1-45 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-M^8 *A-*B^8 C^7.

A reprint of no. 134b.

Sabin 72152.

Copies: BM, DLC, InU, MBAt, NHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

134d. [———]. ———. The Third Edition. . . .

Same imprint and collation.

A reprint of no. 134b.

Sabin 72152.

Copies: CtY, RPJCB.

134e. [———]. ———.

London: Printed, And New-York: Re-Printed, By John Holt . . . 1774.

1 p. l., [1]-73 p., 8vo, [-]^1 [A]-I^4 [K]^1.

Advertised in the *New York Journal* for July 21, 1774, and in the *Connecticut Journal* for August 12, 1774 as "just published in New-York." A reprint of no. 134a.

Evans 13586, Sabin 72151 note.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NjP, RPJCB, ViU.

134f. [———]. ———.

London: Printed. Boston, Re-printed And Sold By Edes And Gill . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-64 p., 4to, [A]-H^4.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for August 1, 1774. A reprint of no. 134a.

Evans 13582, Sabin 72151 note.

Copies: CSmH, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C, PPL, RPJCB.

134g. [———]. ———.

Same imprint and collation.

"Fourth Edition" on the half-title. A resetting of no. 134f and may be distinguished internally by the initial "N" on page 5. In no. 134f it is plain and in this one it is surrounded by type ornaments. A reprint of no. 134a.

Evans 13583, Sabin 72151 note.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MH, MWA, NN, RPJCB.

134h. [———]. ———.

Same imprint and collation.

"Fifth Edition" on half-title. Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 134g.

Evans 13584, Sabin 72151 note.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MBAt, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, RPJCB.

134i. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia. Reprinted and Sold by Benjamin Towne . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-60 p., 8vo, [A]-G^4 H^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for August 29, 1774. A reprint of no. 134a. Two states noted, one with catchword on page 5 "prin-" and the other with "principles."

Evans 13587, Sabin 72151 note.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

134j. [———]. ———.

London: Printed. Hartford: Re-Printed And Sold by Eben. Watson . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-63 p., 8vo, [A]-H^4.

Advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* for September 6, 1774. Evans 14438 lists a Norwich edition, but no copy has been located. C. K. Shipton says that the entry was based on an advertisement in a now unlocated issue of the *Norwich Packet*. Probably the advertisement referred to this edition and the entry is a ghost.

Evans 13585, Sabin 72151 note.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, PU, ViU, WHi.

134k. [———]. Appendix To The Considerations On The Measures Carrying On With Respect To The British Colonies In North America.

Philadelphia. Reprinted and Sold by Benjamin Towne . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-19 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4 C^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for July 21, 1775. This is a reprint of the Appendix in no. 134b and was issued to supplement no. 134i.

Evans 14439, Sabin 1794, 72153.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MWA, NHi, PPL, RPJCB.

135a. [Seabury, Samuel] 1729-1796.

The Congress Canvassed: Or, An Examination Into The Conduct of the Delegates, At Their Grand Convention, Held in Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1774. Addressed, To the Merchants of New-York. By A. W. Farmer. Author of Free Thoughts, &c. . . .

[New-York] Printed [by James Rivington] In The Year M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-27, [1] p. (last p. postscript), 8vo, A-C^4 D^2.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for December 15, 1774. Dated at end November 28, 1774. Two states noted, one with the first line of text on page 3 ending "you" and the other with it ending "to." It is in the Postscript to this that Seabury first takes note of Alexander Hamilton's *A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress*, New York 1774, no. 116, which in turn was an attack on Seabury's earlier pamphlet, *Free Thoughts On the Proceedings of the Continental Congress*, New York, 1774, no. 136. Seabury went on to answer Hamilton more fully in his *A View of the Controversy*, New York, 1774, no. 137. For authorship see: Ford-*Hamilton* 2 note. Also attributed to Isaac Wilkins. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society*.

Evans 13601, Sabin 78562, Ford-*Hamilton* 1 note, Hewlett 94.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

135b. [———]. ———.

New-York, Printed: London Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart . . . 1775.

2 p. l., [1]-59 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-H^4 I^2.

Sabin 78563.

Copies: CtY, InU, MBAt, MHi, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

136a. [SEABURY, SAMUEL] 1729-1796.

Free Thoughts, On The Proceedings of The Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1774: Wherein Their Errors are exhibited, Their Reasonings Confuted . . . In A Letter To The Farmers, And Other Inhabitants Of North America . . . By a Farmer. . . .

[New-York] Printed [by James Rivington] In The Year M.DCC.LXXIV.

[1]-29, [*i.e.* 31] p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for November 24, 1774. Signed at end "November 16, 1774. A. W. Farmer." For authorship see: Ford-*Hamilton* 2 note. Also attributed to Isaac Wilkins. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society.*

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, DLC, MH, MWA, ViU.

136b. [———]. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Copies: MBAt.

136c. [———]. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-24 p., 8vo, A-C^4.

Evans 13602, Sabin 78574, Ford-*Hamilton* 1 note, Hewlett 95.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPB, RPJCB.

136d. [———]. ———.

New-York, Printed: London Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart . . . 1775.

2 p. l., [1]-50 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-G^4 H^2 (H2 blank).

Sabin 78575.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB, WHi.

137a. [Seabury, Samuel] 1729-1796.

A View Of The Controversy Between Great-Britain and her Colonies: Including A Mode of Determining their present Disputes, Finally and Effecually [*sic*]; And Of Preventing All Future Contentions. In A Letter To the Author of A Full Vindication Of The Measures of the Congress . . . By A. W. Farmer. Author of Free Thoughts, &c.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-37, 8vo, A-E⁴ (E4 blank).

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for January 5, 1775. Signed at the end "A. W. Farmer. December 24, 1774." A reply to Alexander Hamilton's *A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress*, New York, 1774, no. 116. For authorship see: Ford-*Hamilton* 2 note. Also attributed to Isaac Wilkins. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society*. Two issues noted, the first as above, the second with advertisements on E3 verso and E4 recto.

Evans 13603, Sabin 78581, Ford-*Hamilton* 2, Hewlett 18.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

137b. [———]. ———.

New-York, Printed: London Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart . . . 1775.

1 p. l., [1]-90 p., 8vo, [A]¹ B-M⁴ N¹.

Sabin 78581, Ford-*Hamilton* 2 note.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB.

138. A Serious Address To The Inhabitants Of The Colony Of New-York, Containing a full and minute Survey of the Boston-Port Act, calculated to excite our Inhabitants to conspire, with the other Colonies on this Continent, in extricating that unhappy Town from its unparalleled Distresses. . . .

New-York: Printed by John Holt . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-14, [1-6] p., 4to, [A]¹ B-D² [E]² [F]¹.

Signed at the end "A Citizen of New-York, May 30th, 1774." The appendices contain the Boston Port Act and Lord Camden's speech on

the Declaratory Act. Sabin gives the date at the end as June 11, 1774. No copy with this date has yet been noted.

Evans 13605, Sabin 79246.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, PPL.

139a. SHARP, GRANVILLE, 1735-1813.

A Declaration Of The People's Natural Right To A Share In the Legislature; Which is the Fundamental Principle Of The British Constitution Of State. . . .

London: Printed for B. White . . . M.DCC.LXXIV.

2 p. l., i-xl, 1-32 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ a-e^4 B-E^4.

Although this consists of only the first part of no. 139b, it is clear that the pamphlet was first issued in this abbreviated form. Page 32 is an apparent point of termination. The American editions, nos. 139d to g, contain only the text printed here. This is also the version reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon) for October 20, 1774.

Sabin 79810.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, NHi, PHi, PPRos, PU.

139b. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., i-xl, 1-244 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ a-e^4 B-Z^4 Aa-Hh^4 Ii^2 (G4 blank).

Printed from the same setting of type as no. 139a with additional material.

Sabin 79816.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NcD, NjP, PHi, PP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

139c. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for B. White . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

Same collation.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, ICN, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

139d. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., i-xl, 1-279, [1]-4 p. (last 4 p. advts.), 8vo, $[A]^2$ a-e^4 B-Z^4 Aa-Hh^4 Ii^2 Kk-Oo^4.

A reprint of no. 139c with an index.

Sabin 79817.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, RPB, ViU.

139e. ———. ———.

London, Printed: Philadelphia, Re-Printed And sold by Benjamin Towne . . . 1774.

[1]-21 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 (C_4 blank).

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 21, 1774. A reprint of no. 139a.

Evans 13612, Sabin 79812.

Copies: DLC, PPAmP, PPL.

139f. ———. ———.

London, Printed: Philadelphia, Reprinted And sold by John Dunlap . . . 1774.

Same collation.

Same setting of type as no. 139e with imprint altered.

Evans 13613, Sabin 79811.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

139g. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

London: Printed. Boston: Re Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . MDCC.LXXIV.

[1]-22 p., 4to, [A]-B^4 C^3.

A reprint of no. 139a. Evans 13610 lists a 12mo edition in Boston of 1774, but no copy has been located and it is probably a ghost.

Evans 13609, Sabin 79814.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, RPJCB.

139h. ———. ———.

London: Printed. New-York: Re-printed By John Holt . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Printed in Holt's *New-York Journal* for September 22 and 29, 1774. In that same issue there is the statement that in a few days it will be published as a pamphlet.

Evans 13611, Sabin 79813.

Copies: CtY, MH.

139i. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

Dublin: Printed for T. Armitage, J. Williams, and L. Flin. MDCCLXXVI.

[i]-xliii, 244 p., 12mo, [A]-M^{12}.

Copies: MiU-C.

140. SHERWOOD, SAMUEL, 1730-1783.

A Sermon, Containing, Scriptural Instructions to Civil Rulers, and all Free-born Subjects. In which the Principles of sound Policy and good Government are established and vindicated; and some Doctrines advanced and zealously propagated by New-England Tories, are considered and refuted. Delivered on the public Fast, August 31, 1774 . . . Also, An Appendix, Stating the heavy Grievances the Colonies labour under from several late Acts of the British Parliament . . . By the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, of Danbury. . . .

New-Haven, Printed by T. and S. Green. [1774?].

[i]-x, [11]-81, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]-K^4 [L]^1.

Advertised in the *Connecticut Journal* for January 4, 1775, as "just published," but in view of the date of the sermon it is probable that copies were issued before the first of the year.

Evans 13614, Sabin 80456.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

SHIPLEY, JONATHAN, bp. of St. Asaph. *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* London, 1774, see: 100g.

141a. [SHIPLEY, JONATHAN] bp. of St. Asaph, 1714-1788.

A Speech Intended To Have Been Spoken On The Bill For Altering The Charters Of The Colony of Massachusett's Bay.

London: Printed For T. Cadell . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[i]-vii, [1]-36 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 F^2.

Reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy* for Sept. 15, 1774, the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for September 22 and 29, 1774, the *Virginia Gazette* (Rind) for September 29, 1774, the *New-York Journal* for September 22, 1774, the *Maryland Gazette* for September 28 and October 6, 1774. Copies were advertised for sale in the *South Carolina Gazette* for October 31, 1774, but it is not possible to tell which edition. Verner W. Crane says there is a hint that Franklin had a hand in the publication of this. See: his *Benjamin Frank-*

lin's Letters to the Press 1758-1775, Chapel Hill, 1950, p. li.

Sabin 80511.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

141b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 141a.

Sabin 80512.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, PHi, PPL, RPB.

141c. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 141a.

Sabin 80513.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MiU-C, PHi, PP, PPL, RPJCB.

141d. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 141a. Sabin goes on to list a fifth and a sixth London edition. No copies have been located and he probably confused them with the Hartford edition, no. 141j, and the Boston edition, no. 141f.

Sabin 80514.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, NcD, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

141e. [———]. ———.

London: To be had of Goadby and Berry . . . [1774?].

[1]-16 p., 8vo, A^8.

Sabin 80515.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, ICN, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

141f. [———]. ———. The Sixth Edition.

London, Printed. Boston: RePrinted, And Sold By Edes And Gill . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[i]-vi, [7]-24 p., 4to, [A]-C^4.

Evans 13616, Sabin 80516.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, PPL, RPJCB.

141g. ———. ———. By The Rev. Jonathan Shipley. . . .

London, Printed . . . Boston, N. E. Re-printed, and sold . . . at Greenleaf's Printing Office . . . [1774].

[1]-12 p., 12mo, $[A]^4$ B^2.

Advertised in the *Boston Evening Post* for October 10, 1774.

Evans 13615, Sabin 80517.

Copies: MH, NN.

141h. ———. ———.

Salem: N. E. Printed and Sold by E. Russell . . . M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Evans 13622, Sabin 80518.

Copies: MHi, MWA.

141i. ———. ———.

Salem: Re-printed and sold by S. and E. Hall [1774?].

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B^4.

Caption title, imprint on p. 16.

Evans 13623, Sabin 80519.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB.

141j. [———]. ———. The Fifth Edition.

London, Printed; Hartford: Re-printed and Sold by Ebenezer Watson . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-17 p., 12mo, [A]-B^4 $[C]^1$.

Evans 13617, Sabin 80520.

Copies: CtHi.

141k. [———]. ———.

London: Printed. New-York: Re-Printed By John Holt . . . MDCCLXXIV.

2 p. l., [1]-17 p., 8vo, $[A]^3$ B-C^4.

Advertised in the *New-York Journal* for September 15, 1774. There are two states, one without the author's name on the title page and one with a slip reading "By the Bishop of St. Asaph" pasted on it.

Evans 13619, Sabin 80521.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MH, NN.

141l. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.

London, Printed; Philadelphia: Re-printed and Sold by William and Thomas Bradford . . . M.DCC.LXXIV.

[i]-vi, [1]-29 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4 E^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 14, 1774.

Evans 13620, Sabin 80523.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MWA, NHi, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

141m. [———]. ———.

London, Printed: Philadelphia, Reprinted and Sold by Benjamin Towne . . . [1774].

[i]-v, 7-18 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4 C^1.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 12, 1774.

Evans 13621, Sabin 80522.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MH, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

141n. ———. ———. The Fifth Edition.

Lancaster: Printed And Sold By Francis Bailey. MDCCLXXIV.

[i]-iv, [5]-24 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4.

Evans 13618, Sabin 80524.

Copies: PPL.

141o. [———]. ———.

Williamsburg: Printed By John Pinkney, For The Benefit Of Clementina Rind's Estate. MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Copies: CSmH, RPJCB.

141p. ———. The Whole of the celebrated Speech Of The Rev. Dr. Jonathan Shipley . . . Intended to have been spoken [&c]. . . .

Printed by S. Southwick . . . Newport, Rhode Island, Sept. 1774.

[1]-20 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4 C^2.

Evans 13624, Sabin 80526 note, Alden 562.

Copies: DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, NN, PHi, RPB, RPJCB.

142. Some Fugitive Thoughts On A Letter Signed Freeman, Addressed To The Deputies Assembled At The High Court of Congress in Philadelphia. By A. Back Settler.

[Charleston] South Carolina. Printed in the Year MDCCLXXIV.

1 p. l., 1-36 p., 4to, [-]^{1} A-D^{4} E^{2}.

A reply to William Henry Drayton's *A Letter from Freeman of South Carolina*, Charleston, 1774, no. 111.

Evans 13630, Sabin 86648.

Copies: DLC, NN, PPRos.

143. TENNENT, WILLIAM, 1740-1777.

An Address, Occasioned By The Late Invasion of the Liberties Of The American Colonies By The British Parliament, Delivered in Charlestown, South Carolina. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by William and Thomas Bradford . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[i]-iii, [5]-20 p., 8vo, [A]-B^{4} C^{2}.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for December 14, 1774, and in the *New-York Journal* for December 15, 1774.

Evans 13649, Sabin 94718.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

144a. TUCKER, JOSIAH, 1712-1799.

The True Interest of Great-Britain, Set Forth In Regard To The Colonies; And the only Means of Living in Peace and Harmony with Them. . . .

Norfolk [England] Printed in the Year, M.DCC.LXXIV.

[1]-66 p., 8vo, [-]^{1} A-H^{4}.

This is a reprint of Tract no. IV from his *Four Tracts, Together With Two Sermons, On Political and Commercial Subjects*, Glocester, 1774.

Sabin 97365.

Copies: CtY, MiU-C, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

144b. ———. ———. To which is Added by the Printer, A few more Words, on the Freedom of the Press in America.

Philadelphia: Printed, and Sold, by Robert Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-66, [1-6] p., 8vo, [-]^{1} A-H^{4} I^{3}.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for June 24, 1776. Two states

noted, one with Tucker's name alone on the title page and one with three lines that identify him further.

Evans 15119, Sabin 97366.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

145. Webster, Samuel, 1719-1796.

The Misery And Duty Of An Oppress'd And Enslav'd People, Represented In A Sermon Delivered at Salisbury, July 14, 1774. On a Day set apart for Fasting and Prayer. . . .

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill, in Queen-Street. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D⁴.

Evans 13758, Sabin 102421.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NcD, RPJCB.

146. [Wells, Richard].

A Few Political Reflections Submitted To The Consideration Of The British Colonies, By A Citizen of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by John Dunlap. M,DCC,LXXIV.

[1]-86 p., 8vo, A-L⁴ (L4 blank).

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for August 29, 1774. This consists of six letters which originally appeared in that newspaper between June 20 and August 8, 1774. Attributed to Wells by the Library of Congress Catalog on the basis of the catalogue of the American Philosophical Society of which Wells was secretary.

Evans 13760, Sabin 102599.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MB, NHi, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

147. Whitney, Peter, 1744-1816.

The Transgression of a Land punished by a multitude of Rulers. Considered In Two Discourses, Delivered July 14, 1774 . . . A Day of Fasting and Prayer, On Account of the Dark Aspect of our Public Affairs. . . .

Boston: Printed by John Boyle . . . MDCCLXXIV.

[1]-71 p., 8vo, [A]-I⁴.

Evans 13769, Sabin 103770.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, MH, MHi, MWA, RPJCB, WHi.

148. [WILKINS, ISAAC] 1742-1830.

Short Advice To the Counties of New-York . . . By A Country Gentleman.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1774.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, A-B⁴.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for December 1, 1774 and in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for December 22, 1774. For authorship see: his *My Services and Losses in Aid of the King's Cause during the American Revolution*, Brooklyn, 1890, pp. 15-16.

Evans 13772, Sabin 80594, Hewlett 19.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

149. [WILSON, JAMES] 1742-1798.

Considerations On The Nature And The Extent Of The Legislative Authority Of The British Parliament.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold, by William and Thomas Bradford . . . M.DCC.LXXIV.

[i]-iv, [1]-35 p., 8vo, A-E⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 28, 1774 and in *Rivington's Gazette* for October 13, 1774. For authorship and circumstances of publication see: Charles P. Smith's *James Wilson*, Chapel Hill, 1956, pp. 36-37, 54-58, 89, 391.

Evans 13775, Sabin 104629.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

[ZUBLY, JOHN JOACHIM]. *Great Britain's Right to Tax her Colonies.* [London? 1774?], see: 74b, c.

1775

[ALLEN, JOHN]. *An Oration on the Beauties of Liberty.* Wilmington, 1775, see: 91g.

150. [BARRY, HENRY] 1750-1822.

The Advantages Which America Derives from her Commerce Connexion and Dependance On Britain Address To The People of America. . . .

[Boston] Printed in the Year 1775.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴.

This probably appeared between January 30 and February 18, 1775. From the correspondence between Eliot and Belknap noted under no. 151a, it is apparent that Eliot had no copy of this pamphlet to send Belknap on the earlier date when he sent a copy of Barry's *The Strictures*, no. 151a. On the later date, he sent a copy of this item to Belknap. This, like no. 151a, has been assigned to Boston because Barry was stationed there.

Evans 13822, Sabin 472.

Copies: BM, CSmH, MH, MHi, MWA, NN.

151a. [Barry, Henry] 1750-1822.

The Strictures On The Friendly Address Examined, And A Refutation of its Principles attempted. Addressed To The People Of America. ...

[Boston] Printed in the Year 1775.

[1]-14 p., 8vo, [A]-B⁴ (B4 blank).

This reply to Charles Lee's *Strictures on a Pamphlet Entitled a "Friendly Address,"* Philadelphia, 1774, no. 125a must have been printed during January of 1775. John Eliot sent a copy of the pamphlet with a letter dated January 30th to Jeremy Belknap. It is from the correspondence between these two men that Barry is identified as the author. See: *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (6th series), vol. IV (1891), pp. 78 and 81. The place of publication is determined from the New York edition, no. 151b, and the fact that Barry was stationed in Boston. Because of the similarity between the title of this and the pamphlet to which it was a reply, a good deal of confusion has arisen about the number of editions. The following Evans numbers can be considered ghosts unless copies are discovered that match his descriptions. Number 13823 "[Boston] Printed by John Howe, 1775, 14p. 8vo" is credited to MHi which does not have it today. Evans, who assigned this to the wrong author, probably did not realize that the texts of this and the first part of no. 151d were the same and thus was misled by the wording of the imprint of no. 151d. Number 13864 is a duplicate entry of no. 14154 under the wrong author. Number 13865 is also entered under the wrong author with no copy located. Evans probably confused it with this edition. Sabin 3684 also causes confusion by listing what is clearly this pamphlet under a completely wrong title. His listings under the two numbers below are somewhat less inaccurate.

Evans 13863, Sabin 11881, 26867.

Copies: BM, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

151b. [———]. The General Attacked By a Subaltern: Or The Strictures On The Friendly Address Examined And A Refutation of its Principles attempted [&c.]. . . .

Boston, Printed: New-York, re-printed, by James Rivington. [1775].

[1]-25 p., 8vo, A-C^4 D^1.

This consists not only of Barry's pamphlet, but also the one to which it is a reply, Lee's *Strictures*, no. 125, which occupies pages 13-25 at the end. Contrary to Hewlett's suggestion it is unlikely that the two were ever issued separately because the separate title page of Lee's piece comes on leaf B3 which is a comparatively awkward place to separate the two items. His suggestion may have arisen from a misunderstanding of an advertisement in *Rivington's Gazette* on November 17, 1774, discussed in no. 125c.

Evans 13824, Sabin 26867, Hewlett 23.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

152. BLAND, WILLIAM.

[A Sermon Preached By The Reverend Mr. Bland, At The Capitol in this City, On the Present Grievances of America.]

[Williamsburg: Printed by John Pinkney? 1775].

Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for August 30, 1775 as "just published, and to be sold by the printer . . ." No copy has been located.

Evans 13838.

153. BOLTON, THOMAS.

An Oration Delivered March Fifteenth, 1775, At The Request of a Number of the Inhabitants Of The Town Of Boston. . . .

[Boston] Printed in the Year, M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-9 p., 8vo, [A]-B^2 C^1.

This attack on the radical leaders in Boston is a satirical imitation of the Boston Massacre Orations, particularly Warren's of the same year, no. 201.

Evans 13840, Sabin 6249.

Copies: CSmH, MBAt, NHi, PHi, RPJCB.

154. [Brush, Crean] 1725?-1778.

Speech Of A Member Of The General Assembly Of New-York, At Their Session, in 1775.

New-York: Printed in the Year MDCCLXXV.

[1]-12 p., 8vo, [A]^4 B^2.

The author of this attack on the Continental Congress identifies himself in the pamphlet.

Evans 13848, Sabin 8771.

Copies: CSmH, MH, MWA.

155a. [Burgoyne, John] 1722-1792.

The Speech Of A General Officer In The House Of Commons, February 20th, 1775.

[London? 1775?].

1 p. l., [1]-9 p., 4to, [A]^6.

Reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter) for June 3, 1775.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

155b. [———]. ———.

[Boston? 1775?].

[1]-8 p., 8vo, [A]^4.

The conjecture that this may have been printed in Boston arises from the following. The *Boston Evening Post* for June 1, 1775, advertised "To be sold at Draper's Printing-Office, in Newbury-Street. Major General Burgoune's Speech." Although this printing attempts to follow the typography of no. 155a, it shows a deterioration in quality that suggests hasty colonial press work. Burgoyne had arrived in Boston on May 25th and put his literary talents to work. He wrote Gage's proclamation of June 12th and generally urged vigorous action. He may have had his speech reprinted as a part of this activity. Abigail Adams mentioned having read the speech in Boston in a letter to John Adams dated July 25, 1775. See: *Familiar Letters*, edited by C. F. Adams, 1876, p. 84.

Sabin 9254.

Copies: MHi, RPJCB.

156a. Burke, Edmund, 1729-1797.

Speech of Edmund Burke, Esq. On American Taxation, April 19, 1774.

London: Printed For J. Dodsley . . . MDCCLXXV.

[i]-iv, 1-57, [1] p. (last p. errata), 4to, A^2 B-H^4 [I]^1.

Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for March 22 and 29, 1775.

Sabin 9295 (incorrectly dated 1774).

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, RPJCB, ViU.

156b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for J. Dodsley . . . MDCCLXXV. . . .

[i]-iv, 5-96 p., 8vo, A-F^8.

Two states noted, one with the price at the bottom of the title page in all upper case and one with it in upper and lower case.

Sabin 9295.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcU, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

156c. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 156b.

Sabin 9295.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

156d. ———. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 156b.

Sabin 9295.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

156e. ———. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

This is a complete resetting of no. 156d. The two can be distinguished by the fact that on the title page of no. 156d the line "The Fourth Edition" does not have any rules above and below it and in this setting there are rules above and below it.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

156f. ———. ———.

Bristol: Re-printed and sold by W. Pine . . . Also by all the other Booksellers [1775?].

[1]-51 p., 12mo, A-D^6 E^2.

Date of imprint from contemporary manuscript note on the title page of RPJCB copy.

Sabin 9295.

Copies: BM, CtY, ICN, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

156g. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-63, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, A-H^4.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for September 21, 1775. This edition also advertised for sale by James Humphreys in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in October of 1775.

Evans 13853, Sabin 9295, Hewlett 24.

Copies: CSmH, MBAt, MH, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

156h. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

London, Printed: Philadelphia, Reprinted and sold by Benjamin Towne . . . MDCCLXXV.

[i]-iv, 1-76 p., 8vo, A^2 B-K^4 L^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for November 28, 1775. See note under no. 157e.

Evans 13852, Sabin 9295.

Copies: DLC, PPAmP, PPL.

157a. BURKE, EDMUND, 1729-1797.

The Speech of Edmund Burke, Esq; On Moving His Resolutions For Conciliation with the Colonies, March 22, 1775.

London: Printed for J. Dodsley. MDCCLXXV.

2 p. l., 1-65 p., 4to, [A]^2 B-I^4 [K]^2.

An extract was published in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for August 10, 1775, (Dixon) for March 2, 1776.

Sabin 9296.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPB, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

157b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for J. Dodsley . . . MDCCLXXV.

2 p. l., 1-107 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-H^8 (H7 & H8 blank).

Sabin 9296.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

157c. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

Same imprint.

[1]-112 p., 8vo, A-G^{8}.

Dodsley also issued two other "Third Editions," one dated 1778 and one dated 1785.

Sabin 9296.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, MH, MiU-C, NN, NcU, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

157d. ———. ———.

Dublin: Printed for J. Exshaw . . . and R. Moncrieffe . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

2 p. l., 1-88 p., 8vo, [A]^{2} B-M^{4}.

Sabin 9296.

Copies: InU, MiU-C, PPL, RPJCB.

157e. ———. ———.

New-York: Printed By James Rivington, 1775.

[i]-v, [7]-71, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]-I^{4}.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for September 23, 1775. Also offered for sale by James Humphreys in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 20, 1775. Evans 13855 lists a Philadelphia edition of this year published by Benjamin Towne. No copy of such an edition has been located and it would appear that he based his entry on the following advertisement that Towne put in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for September 16th, "Proposals for printing by subscription Two Speeches By Edmund Burke one delivered April 19, 1774 and the other on the 22nd of March 1775 . . ." It continued to appear until November 28th. If this is the source, then it would be reasonable to suggest that Towne began setting type for his subscribers in September, but by the end of November the competition of the Rivington editions of the two pamphlets sold by Humphreys, no. 156g and this item, made the venture unprofitable so Towne merely issued Burke's speech of April 19th, no. 156h, which he had already in press.

Evans 13854, Sabin 9296, Hewlett 25.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, DLC, MBAt, MWA, NHi, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

158a. Carmichael, John, 1728-1785.

A Self-Defensive War Lawful, Proved In A Sermon, Preached at Lancaster, before Captain Ross's Company of Militia . . . June 4th, 1775.

Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey . . . [1775].

[1]-25 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-D^4 (D4 blank).

Advertised for sale by Baily in an advertisement dated July 1st, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 8, 1775.

Evans 13861.

Copies: CSmH, MWA, NjP, PHi.

158b. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed for and Sold by John Dean . . . 1775.

[1]-34 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4 E^2 (E2 blank).

Advertised for sale in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for July 1, 1775. The advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for July 19, 1775 describes this edition as "corrected [by the author] from the copy printed at Lancaster."

Evans 13862, Sabin 10939.

Copies: DLC, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PP, PPL, RPJCB.

[Cartwright, John]. *American Independence*, A New Edition. London, 1775, see: 105b.

[Chandler, Thomas Bradbury]. *A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans Carefully Abridged*. New York, 1775, see: 107e.

159a. [Chandler, Thomas Bradbury] 1726-1790.

What think ye of the Congress Now? Or, An Enquiry, How Far The Americans are Bound To Abide by, and Execute the Decisions of, The Late Congress?

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, M,DCCLXXV.

[1]-48, [1]-4 p., 8vo, A-F^4 [G]^2.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for January 12, 1775. At one time it was attributed to Myles Cooper. The four pages at the end consist of Joseph Galloway's *A Plan of A Proposed Union, Between Great-Britain and the Colonies . . . as Mentioned in the Preceding Work*. Copies may have been issued without the *Plan*. For authorship see: C. H. Vance's "Myles Cooper," *Columbia University Quarterly*, vol. XXII (1930), pp. 275-276, and Julian P. Boyd's *Anglo-American Union*, Philadelphia, 1941.

Evans 13866, Sabin 11882, Hewlett 26.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

159b. [———]. ———. With A Plan, By Samuel [*sic*] Galloway, Esq; For A Proposed Union . . . To which is added, An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New-York. . . .

New-York, Printed . . . London, Reprinted for Richardson and Urquhart . . . 1775.

2 p. l., [1]-90, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]^2 B-M^4 N^2.

The "Alarm . . ." by Samuel Seabury is a reprint of no. 194.

Sabin 11882.

Copies: BM, CtY, MB, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

160a. DUCHÉ, JACOB, 1737-1798.

The Duty Of Standing Fast In Our Spiritual And Temporal Liberties, A Sermon, Preached In Christ-Church, July 7th, 1775. Before the First Battalion of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia. . . .

Philadelphia. Printed And Sold By James Humphreys, Junior . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

2 p. l., [i]-iv, [1]-25 p., 8vo, [-]^1 [a]^4 A-C^4 [D]^1 ([-] 1 blank).

Evans 14013, Sabin 21051.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, WHi.

160b. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-Printed, and sold by T. Evans . . . MDCCLXXV.

2 p. l., [i]-iii, [1]-23 p., 8vo, [-]^4 A-C^4.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, RPJCB.

161. An Englishman's Answer, To The Address, From The Delegates, To The People of Great-Britain, In A Letter To The Several Colonies . . . .

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, M,DCC,LXXV.

1 p. l., [1]-26 p., 8vo, [-]^1 A-C^4 D^1.

Although Rivington did not advertise this in his *Gazette*, it probably did not appear after April 27th when he issued his promise not to offend the patriots further (see note under no. 165). This pamphlet was

occasioned by "The Address to the People of Great Britain" passed by the First Continental Congress late in October of 1774. Evans and others attribute this to John Lind (1737-1781), the English political writer. However, as the card catalogue in the American Antiquarian Society points out, the pamphlet begins "Though I am at present on a journey of business in America . . ." and the record does not show that Lind was ever in America. From 1773 to 1776, he studied law at Lincoln's Inn. The author shows an extensive knowledge of American affairs, but seems to speak as an Englishman. Lind did write a pamphlet with a similar title, *An Answer to The Declaration of the American Congress*, London, 1776. Until further evidence is brought forward, the Lind attribution seems highly doubtful.

Evans 14159, Sabin 22624, Hewlett 39.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

162. An Essay Upon Government, Adopted By The Americans. Wherein, The lawfulness of Revolutions, are Demonstrated in a Chain of Consequences from the Fundamental, Principles of Society.

Philadelphia: Printed and sold by the Booksellers. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-125 p., 12mo, A-K^{6} L^{3}.

Evans 14023, Sabin 22974.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MH, MiU-C, PHi, RPJCB.

163. Foster, Dan, 1748-1810.

A Short Essay On Civil Government, The Substance of Six Sermons, Preached in Winsor, Second Society, October 1774. . . .

Hartford: Printed by Eben. Watson . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-73 p., 8vo, [A]-I^{4} [K]^{2} (K2 blank).

Advertised in the *Connecticut Courant*, April 3, 1775.

Evans 14036.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, NHi.

164. [Galloway, Joseph] 1731-1803.

A Candid Examination Of The Mutual Claims Of Great-Britain, And The Colonies: With A Plan Of Accommodation, On Constitutional Principles.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, M,DCC,LXXV.

1 p. l., 1-62 p., 8vo, [-]^{1} A-G^{4} H^{3}.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for March 2, 1776. Two states noted, one with "errata" on the verso of the title page and one without. Galloway's statement about his authorship will be found in "Some Letters of Joseph Galloway, 1774-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XXI (1897), pp. 481-482. Reprinted in London in 1780.

Evans 14059, Sabin 26422, Hewlett 27.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PHi, PPAmP, PPRos, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

165. [GALLOWAY, JOSEPH].

A Reply To An Address To the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, "A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies," &c. By The Author Of The Candid Examination.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington. M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-42 p., 8vo, $[A]^1$ B-F^4.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for April 6, 1775. Under the Evans entry there is a note that this was printed in 1775, but not published until 1777. The source of his information has not been determined, but it is reasonable to assume that Rivington did not sell very many copies. On April 27th, he issued a broadside in which he asked pardon of the public for having issued publications that offended patriots and promised to do it no more, Hewlett 43. It is surprising that any copies survived for on the night of May 10th Rivington's shop was wrecked by a mob. The pamphlet was a reply to a letter by John Dickinson and Charles Thomson: "To the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled 'A Candid Examination of the mutual Claims of Great Britain and her colonies' " which had appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for March 8, 1775. For full discussion of this exchange see: Julian P. Boyd's *Anglo-American Union*, Philadelphia, 1941, pp. 45-50. This reply was reprinted in London in 1780 with his *Candid Examination*.

Evans 14060, Hewlett 28.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MBAt, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB, WHi.

166a. GLOVER, RICHARD, 1712-1785.

The Evidence Delivered on the Petition Presented by the West-India Planters and Merchants To The Hon. House of Commons, As it was introduc'd at the Bar. . . .

[London: printed by H. S. Woodfall, 1775].

1 p. l., [1]-95 [*i.e.* 94] p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-M^{4} N^{3}.

Sabin 27606.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, RPJCB.

166b. ———. The Substance Of The Evidence On The Petition [&c.]....

London: Printed by H. S. Woodfall, For T. Cadell . . . And sold by J. Wilkie . . . [1775].

2 p. l., [1]-47 p., 8vo, [A]^{2} B-G^{4}.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 166a. This abridgment was achieved by removing "The Examination of George Walker and John Ellis," pages 9-56; closing up the forms; and rearranging the pagination. Not to be confuscd with a pamphlet with a similar title published by J. Wilkie in 1774 relating to merchants trading to Germany and Holland.

Sabin 27610.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWiW-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPL, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

166c. ———. ———.

London, Printed: New-York, Re-printed by H. Gaine . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-75 p., 8vo, [A]-I^{4} K^{2}.

A reprint of no. 166b. However, Gaine found the Walker and Ellis evidence that appears in no. 166a and added it at the end.

Evans 14067, Sabin 27610.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MWA, NN, PHi, RPJCB.

167a. Gordon, William, 1728-1807.

A Discourse Preached December 15th 1774. Being The Day Recommended By the Provincial Congress; And Afterwards at the Boston Lecture....

Boston: Printed for, and sold by Thomas Leverett . . . 1775.

[1]-32 p., 1 l., 8vo, [A]-D^{4} [E]^{1}.

Not to be confused with the *Discourse* delivered by Gordon the morning of the same day with almost the same title. Evans 14071 lists an edition with the date in Roman numerals. No copy has been located and it is probably a ghost. For two replies to this see: Harri-

son Gray's *Observations*, Boston, 1775, no. 171, and *Remarks upon a discourse* [Boston?], 1775, no. 192.

Evans 14072, Sabin 28005.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

167b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 167a.

Copies: CtHi, DLC, NHi, PPL.

167c. ———. ———.

Boston, Printed: London, Reprinted; and sold by Edward and Charles Dilly . . . 1775.

2 p. l., [1]-36 p., 8vo, $[A]^2$ B-E^4 F^2.

Sabin 28005.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, NHi, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

168. Gordon, William, 1728-1807.

A Sermon Preached before the Honorable House of Representatives, On the Day intended for the Choice of Counsellors, Agreeable to the Advice of the Continental Congress. . . .

Watertown: Printed and Sold by Benjamin Edes. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-29 p., 4to, [A]-D^4 (D4 blank).

Half-title reads: "Mr. Gordon's Sermon Preached before the House of Representatives, July 19th, 1775." The House ordered 600 copies for itself—50 for the author and 50 for the Committee for which it paid £12, £1, and £1 respectively on July 28 and 29, 1775. See: Rollo G. Silver's "Government Printing in Massachusetts: 1751-1801," *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. XVI (1963), p. 195.

Evans 14073, Sabin 28010.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

169a. Graham, Mrs. Catharine (Sawbridge) Macaulay, 1731-1791.

An Address To The People Of England, Scotland, and Ireland, On The Present Important Crisis of Affairs. . . .

Printed by R. Cruttwell, in Bath, For Edward and Charles Dilly . . . London. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-29, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, B^8 C^7.

Sabin 42944.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

169b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 169a. Some of the copies listed under 169c may in fact be this printing.

Copies: MiU-C.

169c. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly. M.DCC.LXXV.

[1]-31, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, A-B^8.

Sabin 42944.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MiU-C, NN.

169d. ———. ———.

London: Printed For J. Williams . . . [1775?].

[1]-16 p., 8vo, A^8.

Sabin 42944.

Copies: RPJCB.

169e. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

London: Printed. New-York: Reprinted by John Holt . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Evans 14173, Sabin 42944.

Copies: CtHi, PHi, PPL.

170a. [GRAY, HARRISON] d. 1794.

A Few Remarks Upon Some Of The Votes and Resolutions Of The Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia . . . And the Provincial Congress, Held at Cambridge . . . By a Friend to Peace and good Order. . . .

[Boston] Printed for the Purchasers in 1775.

[1]-20 p., 4to, [A]-B^4 C^2.

This Tory pamphlet is signed "A friend to peace and good order." Attributed to Gray by Halkett and Laing. See 171 note.

Evans 14074, Sabin 28391.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

170b. [———]. The Two Congresses Cut Up: Or A Few Remarks Upon Some Of The Votes and Resolutions of the Continental Congress [&c.]. . . .

Boston, Printed; New-York, Reprinted, by James Rivington [1775].

[1]-14 p., 8vo, $[A]^4$ B^3.

Evans 13697 lists a Boston edition with this title and collation. It is a ghost resulting from a misreading of the imprint of this item.

Evans 13698, Sabin 15597, Hewlett 29.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

171. [GRAY, HARRISON?] d. 1794.

Observations On The Reverend Pastor of Roxbury's Thanksgiving Discourse. . . .

Boston: Printed and sold in the Year MDCCLXXV.

[1]-8 p., 4to, $[A]^4$.

This is signed "A friend of peace and good order." The catalogue in the American Antiquarian Society points out that Cushing identifies Gray as the user of this pseudonym in *A Few Remarks*, no. 170. As a Loyalist he would have been an appropriate person to reply to William Gordon's *A Discourse Preached December 15th 1774*, Boston, 1775, no. 167. This has also been attributed to Henry Barry.

Evans 14358, Sabin 28007.

Copies: DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, RPJCB.

172. GREAT BRITAIN. PARLIAMENT. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Speeches In The Last Session of the present Parliament, Delivered by several of the Principal Advocates In The House Of Commons, In Favour Of The Rights Of America. Viz. Governor Johnstone, Mr. Cruger, The Hon. Capt. Lutterell, Colonel Acland, The Hon. Henry Temple Lutterell, Mr. Hartley, The Marquis of Granby, Son of the late magnanimous Hero, John Manners, Marquis of Granby. With the Speech of Mr. Edmund Burke, in Favour of the Protestant Dissenters, in the second Parliament of George the 3d.

New-York: Printed by James Rivington. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-72 p., 8vo, [A]^{1} B-I^{4} K^{3}.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for September 28, 1775 and in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for September 20th.

Evans 14092, Sabin 89210, Hewlett 30.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MBAt, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

173. [Hamilton, Alexander] 1757-1804.

The Farmer Refuted: Or, A more impartial and comprehensive View Of The Dispute between Great-Britain And The Colonies, Intended As A Further Vindication Of The Congress: In Answer To A Letter From A. W. Farmer, Intitled A View of the Controversy. . . .

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1775.

[i]-iv, [1]-72, 72-78 p., 8vo, [A]^{2} B-L^{4}.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for March 18, 1775, and in the *Boston Evening Post* for March 27, 1775. Two states noted, one with "Including" standing alone on the third line from the bottom of the title page and one with it beginning the second from last line of the title: "Including A Mode . . ." This is a reply to Samuel Seabury's *A View of the Controversy*, New York, 1774, no. 137. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society;* and H. C. Syrett's edition of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, New York, 1961, vol. I, pp. 81-165.

Evans 14096, Sabin 29955, Ford-*Hamilton* 2, Hewlett 32-33.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

Hancock, John. *An Oration . . . To Commemorate The Bloody Tragedy of the Fifth of March 1770.* Philadelphia, 1775, see: 117e.

174. Hewes, Joseph, 1714-1796.

A Collection of Occurrences and Facts, Known by living Evidences, and also recorded in a public Manner, in printed and written Papers, now in Being, and indisputably true . . . concerning the present Commotions in the Kingdom of Great-Britain.

[Providence?] Printed [by John Carter?] in the Year 1775.

2 p. l., [1]-46 p., 8vo, A-F^{4} G^{1}.

The printing of this is tentatively attributed to John Carter by Alden on the basis of the typography. Dated (p. [1]) "Providence, April 22, 1775." The author was a prominent Providence physician who was also active in town affairs. His dates were provided by Mr.

Franklin Coyle from the records of the Providence Probate Court. He is not to be confused with the North Carolinian of the same name.

Evans 14115, Alden 605.

Copies: DLC, MB, MBAt, MWA, RPJCB, WHi.

175. HITCHCOCK, GAD, 1718?-1803.

A Sermon Preached At Plymouth December 22d, 1774. Being the Anniversary Thanksgiving, in Commemoration of the first Landing of our New-England Ancestors in that Place, Anno Dom. 1620. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1775.

[1]-44 p., 8vo, [A]-E^8 F^2.

Evans 14118, Sabin 32261.

Copies: BM, CtHi, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, RPJCB.

176. HUNT, ISAAC, 1742-1809.

The Political Family: Or A Discourse, Pointing Out The Reciprocal Advantages, Which flow from an uninterrupted Union between Great-Britain and her American Colonies . . . Numb. I.

Philadelphia: Printed, By James Humphreys, Junior. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, [-]^2 A-C^4 D^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for February 21, 1775. Only this first number was issued.

Evans 14123, Sabin 33866.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

177. JONES, DAVID, 1736-1820.

Defensive War in a just cause Sinless. A Sermon, Preached On the Day of the Continental Fast, At Tredyffryn, in Chester County. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Miller. 1775.

[1]-27 p., 8vo, A-C^4 D^2.

Evans 14133, Sabin 36486.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

[KNOX, WILLIAM]. *The Interest of the Merchants And Manufacturers of Great Britain.* Cork, 1775, see: 120b.

[———]. ———. Dublin, 1775, see: 120c.

[———]. ———. Boston, [1775], see: 120d.

178. Langdon, Samuel, 1723-1797.

Government corrupted by Vice, and recovered by Righteousness. A Sermon Preached Before The Honorable Congress Of the Colony Of the Massachusetts-Bay In New England, Assembled at Watertown, On Wednesday the 31st Day of May, 1775 . . . For the Election of Cousellors. . . .

Watertown: Printed and Sold by Benjamin Edes, MDCCLXXV.

[1]-29 p., 4to, [A]-D⁴ (D4 blank).

The House ordered 600 copies of this sermon for which they paid £12 on June 20, 1775; see: Rollo G. Silver's "Government Printing in Massachusetts: 1751-1801," *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. XVI (1963), p. 194.

Evans 14145, Sabin 38872.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

[Lee, Arthur]. *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain.* London, 1775, see: 123b, 123c.

———. ———. New York, 1775, see: 123d.

179a. Lee, Charles, 1731-1782.

General Lee's Letter To General Burgoyne, Upon His Arrival in Boston.

New-York: Printed by J. Anderson . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-8 p., 8vo, [A]⁴.

This letter was published in numerous newspapers and in various broadside editions. In a sense it belongs with that group of literature, but because of these three pamphlet publications it is included here.

Evans 14148, Sabin 39708.

Copies: DLC, MWA, NHi.

179b. ———. A Letter From General Lee, to General Burgoyne, Printed from the New-York Gazetteer, of July 6. To Which Is Added, General Burgoyne's Answer, And a Copy of a Letter from General Lee, declining an Interview proposed by General Burgoyne.

Boston: Printed and Sold at Draper's . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-19 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴ C².

Evans 14149, Sabin 39708.
Copies: RPJCB.

179c. ———. Letters of Major General Lee, To The Right Honourable Earl Percy, And Major General John Burgoyne. With The Answers.

New-York: Printed by J. Rivington . . . M,DCC,LXXV.
[1]-8, [1]-4 p., 8vo, [-]^4, A^2.
Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 23, 1775.
Evans 14151, Sabin 39710, Hewlett 35.
Copies: CSmH, DLC, MBAt, NHi, PPL.

[LEE, CHARLES]. *Strictures on A Pamphlet.* Boston, 1775, see: 125b, c.

[———]. ———. Newport, 1775, see: 125d.

[———]. ———. Providence, 1775, see: 125e.

[———]. ———. New-London, 1775, see: 125f.

180a. [LEONARD, DANIEL] 1740-1829.

The Origin Of The American Contest With Great-Britain, Or The present political State of the Massachusetts-Bay, in general, And The Town of Boston in particular. Exhibiting the Rise and Progress of the disordered State of that Country, in a series of weekly Essays, published at Boston, under the Signature of Massachusettensis. . . .

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1775.
1 p. l., [1]-86 p., 8vo, [-]^1 A-K^4 L^3.
Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for March 16, 1775. This contains eight of the seventeen letters that appeared originally in the *Massachusetts Gazette and The Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser* between December 12, 1774 and April 3, 1775. At the bottom of page 86 is a note that the rest of the letters are in press. They never appeared, probably because of the promise Rivington made noted in no. 165 note. John Adams undertook an answer in his "Novanglus" series that began in the *Boston Gazette* on January 23, 1775. For authorship see note at the end of the article on Leonard in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* Page [1] is a second title page reading *The Present Political State Of The Province of Massachusetts Bay In General And The Town Of Boston In Particular.* . . . Some copies have only this second title page, but we believe with Hewlett that a perfect

copy must contain both. The first title page was probably part of the last signature and thus was part of the original printing of the pamphlet.

Evans 14158, Sabin 40099, Hewlett 36.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

180b. [———]. Massachusettensis.

[Boston: Printed by Mills and Hicks, 1775].

[1]-118 p., 8vo, [A]-P^4 (P4 blank).

This contains all seventeen of the letters and is the first complete separate edition.

Evans 14157, Sabin 40097.

Copies: BM, DLC, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

180c. [———]. Massachusettensis: Or A Series of Letters, Containing A Faithful State Of Many Important And Striking Facts, Which Laid The Foundation Of The Present Troubles In The Province of the Massachusetts Bay . . . By a Person of Honor upon the Spot. . . .

Boston printed. London reprinted for J. Mathews . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[i]-viii, [1]-118 p., 8vo, [A]-Q^4 (Q4 blank).

Sabin 40100.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

180d. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 180c.

Sabin 40100.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

180e. [———]. ——. The Third Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 180c.

Sabin 40100.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPL.

180f. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 180c.

Sabin 40100.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, ICN, MH, MiU-C, NN.

180g. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Boston printed Dublin reprinted for T. Armitage . . . P. Wogan . . . and W. Gilbert, MDCCLXXVI.

[i]-viii, [1]-103 p., 8vo, [A]-O⁴.

Copies: CtY, InU, MiU-C, RPJCB.

181. MASSACHUSETTS. PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

A Narrative Of The Excursion and Ravages Of The King's Troops Under the Command of General Gage, On the nineteenth of April, 1775. Together With The Depositions Taken by Order of Congress, To support the Truth of it. . . .

Massachusetts-Bay: Worcester, Printed by Isaiah Thomas, by order of the Provincial Congress. [1775].

[1]-23 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴.

Evans 14269, Sabin 51804.

A committee was appointed to "transcribe" this narrative on May 8, 1775 and ordered to find a printer for it on May 19th. It is the first book printed in Worcester. See: Rollo G. Silver's "Government Printing in Massachusetts: 1751-1801," *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. XVI (1963), pp. 178-179.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NjP, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

182. [MATHER, MOSES] 1719-1806.

America's Appeal To The Impartial World. Wherein the Rights of the Americans . . . are stated and considered. And, The Opposition made by the Colonies to Acts of Parliament, their resorting to Arms . . . Vindicated. . . .

Hartford: Printed by Ebenezer Watson, 1775.

[1]-72 p., 4to, [A]-I⁴.

Advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* for April 3, 1775. Attributed to Mather by Evans.

Evans 14253, Sabin 1276 & 46770 note, Holmes 11.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB, ViU.

183. [Mein, John].

Sagittarius's Letters And Political Speculations. Extracted From the Public Ledger. Humbly Inscribed To the Very Loyal and Truly Pious Doctor Samuel Cooper. . . .

Boston. Printed: By Order of the Select Men and sold at Donation Hall . . . mdcclxxv.

1 p. l., [1]-127 p., 4to, [-]^{1} [A]-Q^{4}.

These letters first appeared in the *Public Ledger* in London during 1774. For authorship and discussion see: John E. Alden's "John Mein: Scourge of Patriots," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. XXXIV (1937-1942), pp. 571-576.

Evans 14255, Sabin 47405.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PHi, RPJCB.

184. The Middle Line: Or, An Attempt To Furnish Some Hints For Ending the Differences Subsisting Between Great-Britain and the Colonies.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Joseph Crukshank . . . m.dcc.lxxv.

[1]-48 p., 12mo, A-D^{6}.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for January 23, 1775. Evans attributes this to Richard Wells.

Evans 14616, Sabin 48823.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

185. Montgomery, Joseph, 1733-1794.

A Sermon Preached At Christiana Bridge And Newcastle, The 20th of July, 1775. Being The Day Appointed By The Continental Congress As a Day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed by James Humhreys [*sic*] . . . m,dcc,lxxv.

[1]-30 p., 8vo, A-C^{4} D^{3}.

Evans 14261, Sabin 50153.

Copies: CtHWatk, DLC, NHi, PHi, PPL.

186. No Standing Army In the British Colonies; Or An Address To The Inhabitants Of The Colony Of New-York. Against Unlawful Standing Armies.

New-York: Printed by John Holt . . . mdcclxxv.

[1]-18 p., 8vo, [A]-B⁴ C² (C2 blank).

Evans 14351, Sabin 55371.

Copies: CtY, DLC, PPL.

187. NOBLE, OLIVER, 1735-1792.

Some Strictures Upon The Sacred Story Recorded In The Book of Esther, Shewing The Power and Oppression of State Ministers . . . In A Discourse, Delivered At Newbury-Port . . . March 8th, 1775. In Commemoration Of The Massacre At Boston, March the Fifth, 1770. . . .

Newbury-Port, New-England: Printed by E. Lunt and H. W. Tinges. MDCCLXXV.

[1]-31, [1] p. (last p. errata), 8vo, [A]-D⁴.

Evans 14352, Sabin 55387.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PPL, PPRos, RPJCB, ViU.

188. PERRY, JOSEPH, 1733-1783.

A Sermon, Preached Before The General Assembly Of The Colony Of Connecticut . . . On The . . . Election, May 11, 1775. . . .

Hartford: Printed By Eben. Watson . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-23 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴.

Evans 14383, Sabin 61041.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN.

189. Pills For The Delegates: Or The Chairman Chastised. In a Series of Letters, Addressed To Peyton Randolph, Esq: On his Conduct, as President Of The General Congress . . . By Grotius. Originally published in the Massachusetts Gazette. . . .

New-York: Printed by James Rivington, 1775.

[1]-32 p., 8vo, A-D⁴.

Evans 14094, Hewlett 31.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, ICN, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

[PITT, WILLIAM]. *The Celebrated Speech of a Celebrated Commoner.* London, 1775, see: 41e.

190a. PITT, WILLIAM, Earl of Chatham, 1708-1788.

Lord Chatham's Speech On the 20th of January 1775. Taken by a Member.

London: Printed for T. Freeman . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

1 p. l., 5-18 p., 4to, [A]^{1} B-D^{2} E^{1}.

This contains Pitt's motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston and his speech in support of that motion. Basil Williams, in his *The Life of William Pitt*, London, 1913, vol. II, pp. 335-337, discusses the unreliable reporting of the privileged Parliamentary debates and tells how contemporary published versions usually bore little relationship to what was actually said. This text undoubtedly falls into that category; see note under 190e for better versions. This version was reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for May 4, 1775 and the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for April 20, 1775.

Sabin 63075.

Copies: BM, ICN, InU, RPJCB.

190b. ———. The Speech Of The Right Honourable The Earl of Chatham, In The House of Lords, On Friday the 20th of January 1775.

London: Printed for G. Kearsly . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

[1]-18 p., 4to, [A]-E^{2} (E2 blank).

The text is printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 190a.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

190c. ———. ———. A New Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

The text is printed from substantially the same setting of type as nos. 190a and b.

Sabin 63076.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

190d. ———. ———.

[Newport printed by Solomon Southwick 1775].

[1]-14 p., 8vo, [A]-B^{4} (B4 blank).

Evans did not assign an imprint to this, but it is almost certainly the work of Southwick. The type ornaments used on the title page are the same as the ones he used on each of the nine issues of *The Crisis* attributed to him by Alden nos. 580-589. Also Southwick advertised this pamphlet for sale in the *Newport Mercury* for May 8, 1775, together with two other titles he had published the year before. A reprint of no. 190a.

Evans 14406.

Copies: NN, RPJCB.

190e. ———. ———. On a Motion for an Address to His Majesty, to give immediate orders for removing his Troops from Boston. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed By John Dunlap . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for May 8, 1775 and there described as having been "sent over in manuscript from a Gentleman of Distinction in London to his friend in this city." It is an entirely different text from nos. 190a-d and in all probability is closer to the true version of the speech than they are. Basil Williams, in *The Life of William Pitt,* London, 1913, vol. II, p. 305, states that the best version known to him is to be found in Hugh Boyd's *Genuine Abstracts from Two Speeches of the Late Earl Chatham,* London, 1779. A comparison of this and the Boyd edition shows a close textual similarity. There are a number of differences in detail. The Philadelphia edition has a little more material, particularly on the first two and a quarter pages which are not present in Boyd's version. In his preface Boyd says that his source was a manuscript copy made "by a gentleman whose memory served him sufficiently" to commit the speech to paper, but that the "gentleman" arrived in the House of Lords late and missed the first part of the speech. It is probable that the "gentleman" in question was Boyd himself. He was noted for the extraordinary accuracy of his reports of Parliamentary debates. W. S. Stanhope Taylor and J. H. Pringle stated categorically that it was Boyd's work when they reprinted his version in their *Correspondence of William Pitt,* London, 1840, vol. IV, pp. 377-384 footnote. It would appear, therefore, that this Philadelphia version and the Boyd version came from different sources, but that both are closer to a verbatim report of what was said than any of the other contemporary versions.

The question naturally arises as to the identity of the "Gentleman of Distinction" who sent the manuscript to Philadelphia. Through suggestions offered by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., it is possible to eliminate certain possibilities. The version is clearly not the one taken down by Josiah Quincy, Jr. and included in the *Memoirs* written by his son. The Quincy version is much shorter. Neither is it like the much longer version in a letter written by Jonathan Williams on January 20th and edited by Bernhard Knollenberg in *Indiana University Library Publications,* no. I (1949). Finally it appears probable that we can eliminate the obvious possibility of Benjamin Franklin. On February 5th, he wrote a letter to Charles Thomson in which he said

"You will see, among the papers herewith sent the motion made by Lord Chatham, as preparatory to his plan, viz: that the Troops should be removed from Boston. I send also a copy of the Plan itself, which you may be assured is genuine. The speeches hitherto published as his, during the Session, are spurious." The Motion was the one offered on the 20th and in support of which this speech was made. The Plan was Pitt's "A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America . . ." published in 1775 by John Almon under the title *Plan Offered by the Earl of Chatham,* no. 190Aa. The fact that Franklin mentions the Motion and the Plan but not the Speech indicates that he did not have it when he wrote the letter. He could have obtained a copy of it at a later time and he sent it to Philadelphia, but this is pure conjecture. In any case this version, printed by Dunlap, appears to be just about the best contemporary version.

Evans 14405, Sabin 63077.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

190f. ———. Des Hoch-Edlen Grafen von Chatham Rede, gehalten im Hause der Lords, den 20sten Jenner, 1775. . . .

Philadelphia, Gedruckt und haben Henrich Miller . . . 1775.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, A^8.

Evans 14407.

Copies: PHi.

190Aa. Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 1708-1788.

Plan Offered By The Earl of Chatham, To The House of Lords, Entitled A Provisional Act, for settling the Troubles in America. . . .

London: Printed for J. Almon . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

[1]-14, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 4to, $B\text{-}E^2$.

Sabin 63071.

Copies: CtY, DLC, ICN, MH, MiU-C, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

190Ab. ———. An Authentic Copy of Lord Chatham's Proposed Bill, Entitled A Provisional Act [&c]. . . .

Annapolis: Printed by Frederick Green. MDCCLXXV.

16 p., 8vo, $[1]\text{-}2^4$.

Copies: ICN.

191a. [RAYNAL, GUILLAUME THOMAS FRANÇOIS].

The Sentiments Of A Foreigner, On The Disputes Of Great-Britain With America. Translated From the French. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed By James Humphreys, Junior . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[i]-iv, [5]-27, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, A-C⁴ D².

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June 21, 1775 and the *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter) for July 29th. Reprinted in the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) September 21 to October 5, 1775. Extract reprinted in the *Maryland Gazette* for February 1, 1776. A translation of an extract from his *L'Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, Geneva, 1772.

Evans 14417, Sabin 68105.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MWA, NHi, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

191b. [———]. ———.

Belfast: Printed by James Magee . . . MDCCLXXV.

[i]-viii, 3-33 p., 8vo, [A]-E⁴.

Sabin 68105.

Copies: DLC, MiU-C, NN.

192. Remarks Upon A Discourse Preached December 15th 1774. Being the Day Recommended by the Provincial Congress: And afterwards at the Boston Lecture. By William Gordon . . . In a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Boston.

[Boston?] Printed in the Year MDCCLXXV.

[1]-11 p., 4to, [A]⁴ B².

Evans attributes this reply to Gordon's *Discourse*, Boston, 1774, no. 167, to Henry Barry and it is not impossible that he was the author. However, the piece is dated "Worcester March 10th, 1775" which together with the statement that it was written by "a Gentleman in the Country" does not suggest an army officer serving with his regiment in Boston, which is what Barry was doing. Evans also gives New York as the place of publication. In view of the circumstances surrounding its composition Boston would appear to be a more likely guess.

Evans 13825.

Copies: MWA, RPJCB.

[ROKEBY, MATTHEW ROBINSON-MORRIS, 2nd Baron]. *Considerations on the Measures.* Philadelphia, 1775, see: 134k.

193. Sampson, Ezra, 1749-1823.

A Sermon Preached At Roxbury-Camp, Before Col. Cotton's Regiment; On the 20th of July, P. M. 1775. Being A Day set apart for Fasting and Prayer, through-out all the United Colonies in America. By Ezra Samson [*sic*]....

Watertown: Printed and Sold by Benjamin Edes. 1775.

[1]-25 p., 4to, [A]-C^4 [D]^1.

Evans 14450, Sabin 75928.

Copies: CtHi, DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, NN, RPJCB.

194. [Seabury, Samuel] 1729-1796.

An Alarm to the Legislature Of The Province of New-York, Occasioned By The present Political Disturbances, In North America: Addressed To the Honourable Representatives In General Assembly Convened....

New-York: Printed for James Rivington, M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-13, [1-2] p. (last 2 p. advts.), 8vo, A^8.

Advertised in *Rivington's Gazette* for January 19, 1775. Dated at the end: "January 17, 1775." For authorship see: D. William's "The Westchester Farmer," *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries*, vol. VIII, part 1 (1882), pp. 117-122. Also printed with the London edition of Chandler's *What Think Ye of the Congress Now?*, no. 159b. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society*.

Evans 14453, Sabin 78559, Hewlett 73.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

[Seabury, Samuel]. *The Congress Canvassed.* London, 1775, see: 135b.

[———]. *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress.* London, 1775, see: 136c.

195. [Seabury, Samuel] 1729-1796.

[The Republican Dissected: or the Anatomy of an American Whig, in Answer to the Farmer Refuted. Written by A. W. Farmer.]

[New York: Printed by James Rivington, 1775.]

Rivington's Gazette for March 9, 1775 carried the announcement that Seabury was preparing this answer to Hamilton's *The Farmer Refuted*,

New York, 1775, no. 173. The issue of April 13th said that the pamphlet was "In press, and speedily will be published." However, no copy has been found and it is probable that the printing was interrupted or destroyed or both by the raid on Rivington's shop during the last week of April of 1775, described by Hewlett on pages 84-85. See also: Clarence H. Vance's edition of *Letters of a Westchester Farmer*, White Plains, New York, 1930, vol. VIII of *Publications of the Westchester County Historical Society*.

Evans 14626, Hewlett 142.

[SEABURY, SAMUEL]. *A View of the Controversy*. London, 1775, see: 137b.

196a. SMITH, WILLIAM, 1727-1803.

A | Sermon | On The | Present Situation | Of | American Affairs. | Preached in Christ Church, June 23, 1775. |. . . .

Philadelphia. Printed and sold by James Humphreys Junior . . . MDCCLXXV.

2 p. l., [i]-iv, [1]-32 p., 8vo, [-]^4 A-D^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for July 5, 1775 and in the *Maryland Gazette* for August 17th. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 26th advertised that copies may be had in the following cities: in Lancaster from Matthias Sough and Francis Baily, in New York from Hugh Gaine, and in Charleston, S. C. from Robert Wells. This and no. 197b are entirely different settings and no attempt has been made to determine their priority. This one has been placed first because the line endings of the title page are the same as those in the advertisement and in the *Pennsylvania Journal*. Sabin 84653 lists a New York printing by Rivington based on an advertisement in the *New York Gazetteer*. No copy has been found and it is assumed that the advertisement referred to one of the Philadelphia printings.

Evans 14459, Sabin 84652.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, ICN, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PP, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

196b. ———. A | Sermon | On The Present Situation Of | American Affairs. |. . . .

Same imprint and collation.

Sabin 84651.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, InU, MB, MBAt, MWA, MWiW-C, NjP, PP, PPAmP, PU, RPB, RPJCB.

196c. ———. ———.

Wilmington, Printed And Sold By James Adams . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[i]-iv, 5-17 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4 C^1.

Evans 14460, Sabin 84654.

Copies: PHi.

196d. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-Printed, For Edward And Charles Dilly. M,DCC,LXXV.

2 p. l., [i]-iv, [1]-32 p., 8vo, [-]^4 A^8 C^8.

This or no. 196e or g were printed at the expense of the Chamberlain of London who had ten thousand copies prepared. See: Albert F. Gegenheimer's *William Smith Educator and Churchman 1727-1803*, Philadelphia, 1943, p. 169.

Sabin 84655.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PU, RPJCB.

196e. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-Printed, A Second Time, For Edward And Charles Dilly. M,DCC,LXXV.

2 p. l., [i]-iv, [1]-32 p., 8vo, [A]^4 B-C^8.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 196d with imprint and signature marks altered.

Sabin 84656.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PU, RPJCB.

196f. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-Printed, a Second Time, For Edward and Charles Dilly. [1775].

Same collation.

A reissue of no. 196e with title page reset and an engraved tail piece added. Smith was probably referring to this when he mentioned an "elegant" edition of the pamphlet in his *Works*, Philadelphia, 1803, vol. II, p. 254.

Copies: CSmH, MiU-C, PHi, PU.

196g. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: London Re-Printed, a Third Time, For Edward and Charles Dilly. M.DCC.LXXV. . . .

[i]-vi, [1]-24 p., 12mo, A^{12}.

Sabin 85657.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NcD, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

196h. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed by James Humphreys, Junr. and Re-printed and sold by W. Pine in Bristol, 1775. Price six-penbe [*sic*].

[i]-vii, [1]-32 p., 8vo, A-D^4.

This edition is made up of the sheets of the Philadelphia edition (either no. 196a or b) and a first signature printed by Pine, and used for no. 196i. Although only the MiU-C copy has been seen in this form, it is believed to be a genuine issue because the stab holes from the sewing indicates that the first signature has always been with the body of the pamphlet.

Sabin 84658.

Copies: MiU-C.

196i. ———. ———.

Same imprint.

[i]-vii, [1]-40 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4.

Two states noted, one reading "penbe" in the last line of the title page and the other reading "pence."

Sabin 84658A & 84659.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MiU-C, NN, PPL.

196j. ———. ———.

Dublin: Printed by M. Mills . . . M.DCC.LXXV. . . .

[1]-23 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4.

Sabin 84660.

Copies: DLC.

196k. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Philadelphia: Printed by James Humphreys, junior. And Dublin: Reprinted by M. Mills . . . M.DCC.LXXV.

[1]-23 p., 8vo, A-C^4.

Sabin 84661.

Copies: CtY, MiU-C.

196l. ———. ———.

Belfast: Printed by H. and R. Joy . . . M.DCC.LXXV. . . .

[1]-23 p., 8vo, A-C^4.

Sabin 84662.

Copies: DLC, PPL.

196m. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed by James Humphreys, Jr. And Cork Re-printed for, and Sold by W. Sargent . . . 1775.

[i]-v, 6-24 p., 12mo, A^{12}.

Copies: MH.

196n. ———. ———.

Edinburgh. Reprinted and sold by William Schaw . . . MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [i]-iv, [1]-32 p., 4to, [-]^4 A-D^4.

Copies: MWA.

1960. ———. Pregeth ar Helynt Bresennol America. A Bregethwyd yn Christ-Church, Mehefin y 23, 1775. . . .

Brysto: Argraffwyd gan William Pine, 1775.

[i]-iv, 5-23, [1] p., 12mo, A-B^6.

Sabin 84645.

Copies: MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

197. Some Seasonable Observations and Remarks Upon The State Of Our Controversy With Great Britain; And On The Proceedings Of The Continental Congress . . . By A Moderate Whig.

[Boston?] America: Printed and sold [by Draper] in the Year MDCCLXXV.

[1]-14 p., 4to, [A]-B^4 (B4 blank).

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for May 19, 1775, as "Just published and to be sold at Draper's office."

Evans 14462, Sabin 86760.

Copies: DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, RPJCB.

198. STEARNS, WILLIAM, d. 1783.

A View of the Controversy subsisting between Great-Britain and the American Colonies. A Sermon, Preached At A Fast In Marlborough in Massachusetts-Bay, On Thursday May 11, 1775. Agreeable to a Recommendation of the Provincial Congress. . . .

Watertown: Printed by Benjamin Edes. 1775.

[i]-vii, [9]-33 p., 4to, [A]-D⁴ [E]¹.

Evans 14474, Sabin 90978.

Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPRos, RPJCB.

199. STORY, ISAAC, 1746-1816.

The Love Of Our Country Recommended And Enforced. In A Sermon . . . Delivered On A Day Of Public Thanksgiving, December 15, 1774. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by John Boyle . . . MDCCLXXV.

[1]-23 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴.

Evans misdates this 1774.

Evans 13643, Sabin 92275.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

200. The Triumph Of The Whigs: Or T'Other Congress Convened. . . .

New-York: Printed by James Rivington. M.DCC.LXXV.

[1]-8 p., 8vo, [A]⁴.

This Tory pamphlet has sometimes been attributed to Daniel Leonard, but there seems to be no concrete evidence to support this.

Evans 14523, Sabin 97010, Hewlett 42.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MB, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

201a. WARREN, JOSEPH, 1741-1775.

An Oration Delivered March Sixth, 1775. At The Request of the Inhabitants Of The Town of Boston; To Commemorate the Bloody Tragedy Of The Fifth of March, 1770. . . .

Boston: Printed by Messieurs Edes and Gill . . . and by Joseph Greenleaf . . . M,DCC,LXXV.

[1]-23 p., 4to, [A]-C⁴.

Advertised in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter* for March 17, 1775. Reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for

March 25, 1775 and the *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney) for April 13, 1775.

Evans 14608, Sabin 101478.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, PPRos, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

201b. ———. ———.

Newport, Rhode Island: Reprinted and Sold by S. Southwick . . . 1775.

[1]-22 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 (C4 blank).

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for March 20, 1775. Two states noted, one with an "Erratum" on page 22 and one without.

Evans 14610, Sabin 101478, Alden 630.

Copies: CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MWA, NHi, NN, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

201c. ———. ———.

New-York: Printed by John Anderson . . . [1775?].

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]^8.

Evans 14609, Sabin 101478.

Copies: CSmH, MBAt, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN.

202. Webster, Samuel, 1743-1777.

Rabshakeh's Proposals Considered, In a Sermon, Delivered at Groton February 21, 1775. At the Desire of the Officers of the Companies of Minute Men in that Town. . . .

Boston: Printed and Sold by Edes and Gill . . . 1775.

[1]-30 p., [A]-C^4 D^3.

Evans 14615, Sabin 102427.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, RPJCB.

[Whately, Thomas]. *The Regulations Lately Made . . . By . . . Geo. Grenville. The Third Edition.* London, 1775, see: 21b.

203. Williams, Samuel, 1743-1817.

A Discourse On The Love of our Country; Delivered On a Day of Thanksgiving, December 15, 1774. . . .

Salem, New-England: Printed By Samuel and Ebenezer Hall. 1775.

[1]-29 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 C^3.

Evans 14627, Sabin 104346.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, RPJCB, WHi.

204a. ZUBLY, JOHN JOACHIM, 1724-1781.

The Law of Liberty. A Sermon On American Affairs, Preached At The Opening Of The Provincial Congress Of Georgia . . . With An Appendix, Giving A Concise Account Of The Struggles Of Swisserland [*sic*] To Recover Their Liberty. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed By Henry Miller. MDCCLXXV.

[i]-xx, [1]-41, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]-H^4 (H4 blank).

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for October 4, 1775.

Evans 14635, Sabin 106388.

Copies: BM, CtHi, CtY, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PPL, RPJCB.

204b. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Henry Miller. 1775. Also to be had of Messieurs Bradfords, in Philadelphia; Noel and Hazard, at New-York; William Scott . . . Charles-Town, South-Carolina; and at Mr. Bard's Store, at Savannah, Georgia.

Same collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 204a with the additional section of the imprint added.

Evans 14636, Sabin 106388.

Copies: DLC, MB, MH, NHi, NjP, PHi, PPL.

204c. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed; And London Re-printed for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXXV.

1 p. l., 5-73 p., 8vo, [A]^1 B-I^4 K^3.

Sabin 106338.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PU, RPJCB.

1776

205a. [ADAMS, JOHN] 1735-1826.

Thoughts On Government: Applicable To The Present State Of The American Colonies. . . .

Philadelphia, Printed By John Dunlap. M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-28 p., 8vo, A-C⁴ D².

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for April 22, 1776. It is in part a reply to the proposals for an American government in Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, Philadelphia, 1776, no. 222. For the circumstances of composition see: L. H. Butterfield's edition of the *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 1961, vol. 3, pp. 331-333. Adams sent a copy to Joseph Warren on April 20th, two days before it was first advertised in the newspaper.

Evans 14639, Sabin 251.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

205b. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed. Boston: Re-Printed by John Gill . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴.

Sabin is incorrect in describing this as an abridgement.

Evans 14640, Sabin 251.

Copies: MB, MHi, MWA, NN.

206. Baldwin, Samuel, d. 1784.

A Sermon, Preached At Plymouth, December 22, 1775. Being the Anniversary Thanksgiving, in commemoration of the first landing of the Fathers of New-England, there; anno domini, 1620. . . .

America, Massachusetts-Bay: Boston, Printed by Powars and Willis . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-39 p., 4to, [A]-E⁴.

Evans 14657, Sabin 2909.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB.

207. [Braxton, Carter] 1736-1797.

An Address To The Convention Of The Colony And Ancient Dominion Of Virginia; On The Subject of Government in general, and recommending a particular Form to their Consideration. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed By John Dunlap . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-25 p., 8vo, A-C⁴ [D]² (D2 blank).

This was printed in the *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter) for June 8, 15, 1776. In part it was stimulated by John Adams's *Thoughts on Government*, Philadelphia, 1776, no. 205. Attributed to Braxton in the Library of Congress Catalog.

Evans 14669, Sabin 7466.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

[CARTWRIGHT, JOHN]. *American Independence.* Philadelphia, 1776, see: 105c.

208a. [CHALMERS, JAMES] d. 1806.

Plain Truth; Addressed To The Inhabitants Of America, Containing Remarks On A Late Pamphlet, entitled Common Sense . . . By Candidus. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed, and Sold, by R. Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

4 p. l., 1-84 p., 8vo, [A]-K⁴ L³ M⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for March 13, 1776. A full account of the American publication of this pamphlet will be found in my "The Authorship and Printing of Plain Truth by 'Candidus,'" *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. XLIX (1955), pp. 230-248. The listing here is a summary of that information. At the end is an extract of a reply to *Common Sense*, signed "Cato," by Provost William Smith which was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on the 13th. At various times the pamphlet has been attributed to Smith, George Chalmers, Charles Inglis, Richard Wells, Joseph Galloway, and Alexander Hamilton.

Evans 15088, Sabin 84642 and note.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PPRos, PPL, PU.

208b. [———]. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-84, [*i.e.* 94], [2] p. (last 2 p. advts.), 8vo, [A]-K⁴ L³ M⁴.

There are a number of incorrectly paged variants of this issue resulting from the addition of the complete Smith letter and another attack on Paine signed "Rationalis."

Copies: CtHWatk, DLC, MH, MHi, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU.

208c. [———]. ———.

Same imprint.

[1]-96 p., 4 l., [97]-136 p., 8vo, [A]-M⁴ [-]⁴ N-P⁴ [Q-R]⁴.

This contains the *Additions to Plain Truth*, also by Chalmers, which was issued separately on April 17th. However, it was also issued with the original pamphlet. See no. 209.

Sabin 84642 note.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

208d. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 8, 1776.

Evans 15089, Sabin 84642 note.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MHi, NcD, PHi, WHi.

208e. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed: London, Reprinted for J. Almon . . . M.DCC.LXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-47, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, $[-]^2$ $A-F^4$.

This was also issued with the four Almon editions of *Common Sense*. For full discussion see: Richard Gimbel's *Thomas Paine: Bibliographical Check List of Common Sense*, New Haven, 1956, nos. CS 24-CS 39 and CS 206a-CS 212. A reprint of no. 208a.

Sabin 84642 note.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPL, PU, WHi.

208f. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 208e.

Sabin 84642 note.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL, PU, RPB, RPJCB, ViU.

208g. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed: Dublin, Reprinted by M. Mills . . . MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-44 p., 8vo, $[-]^2$ $A-B^8$ C^6.

A reprint of no. 208a.

Sabin 84642 note.

Copies: DLC, MiU-C, NN, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

209. [Chalmers, James] d. 1806.

Additions To Plain Truth; Addressed To The Inhabitants Of America, Containing, further Remarks On A Late Pamphlet, entitled Common Sense . . . Written By The Author Of Plain Truth. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed, and Sold, by R. Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

4 p. l., [97]-136 p., 8vo, [-]^4 N-P^4 [Q-R]^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for April 17, 1776. For the various issues and states see the article cited in no. 208a. Also issued with nos. 208c and d.

Evans 15089 (2nd title), Sabin 84642 note.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU.

210. CHAMPION, JUDAH, 1729-1810.

Christian And Civil Liberty And Freedom Considered And Recommended: A Sermon, Delivered Before The General Assembly . . . On the Day of Their Anniversary Election, May 9th, 1776. . . .

Hartford: Printed by E. Watson . . . 1776.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Evans 14675, Sabin 11828.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, RPJCB.

211. Civil Prudence, Recommended To The Thirteen United Colonies Of North-America. A Discourse, Shewing That it is in the Power of Civil Prudence to prevent or cure State Distempers, and to make an industrious, wealthy, and flourishing People. . . .

Norwich: Printed and sold by Judah P. Spooner. 1776.

[i]-vi, [7]-55 p., 8vo, [A]-G^4.

In his long dedication to "Common Sense" (*i.e.* Thomas Paine), the author states that this was written not long after the repeal of the Stamp Act. He felt that in view of the independence proposed by Paine his proposals for trade might still be useful. Evans gives the imprint incorrectly.

Evans 14677, Sabin 13163.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MHi, MWA, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

212. CLARK, JONAS, 1730-1805.

The Fate of Blood-thirsty Oppressors, and God's tender Care of his distressed People. A Sermon, Preached At Lexington, April 19, 1776. To commemorate the Murder, Bloodshed and Commencement of Hostilities, between Great-Britain and America . . . To Which Is Added, A Brief Narrative of the principal Transactions of that Day. . . .

Massachusetts-State: Boston, Printed By Powars And Willis. M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-31, 1-8 p., 8vo, [A]-D⁴ [E]².

Evans 14679, Sabin 13316.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPB, RPJCB.

213. [Davis, Timothy].

A Letter From A Friend To Some Of His Intimate Friends, On the Subject of paying Taxes, &c.

Watertown: Printed and Sold by B. Edes . . . 1776.

[1]-8 p., 8vo, [A]⁴.

Attributed to Davis in Arthur J. Mekeel's "Free Quakers Movement In New England During the American Revolution," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, vol. XXVII (1938), p. 74. Evans incorrectly dates this 1775.

Evans 14003, Sabin 40279.

Copies: MB, MWA, PPL.

214a. A Discourse On The Times.

Norwich: Printed by Judah P. Spooner, for the Author, 1776.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-B⁴.

The Library of Congress Catalog quotes a note in a George D. Smith catalogue which says of this "The authorship of the tract is credited by a former owner to Jabez Huntington."

Evans 14737, Sabin 20224.

Copies: CtHi, RPJCB.

214b. ———. The Second Edition.

Norwich Printed by Judah P. Spooner, for the Author. M,DCC,LXXVI.

Same collation.

This edition has a number of revisions. A third edition was printed in Norwich in 1777. A copy is to be found in MH.

Evans 14738, Sabin 20244.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MWA, NN, PPL, RPJCB.

215. Four Letters On Interesting Subjects.

Philadelphia: Printed by Styner and Cist . . . MDCCLXXVI.

1 p. l., 1-24 p., 8vo, [-]¹ A-C⁴.

This was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Journal* for July 17, 1776. Ordinarily it would not have been included; however, the

following words "To the Reader" on the verso of the title page make it a useful addition: "The rapid turn which Politics have taken within the course of a few days, makes it almost impossible for the Press to keep pace therewith; which will account for some remarks in the first and second of the following letters. . . ." Those letters were written before the Declaration of Independence and in all probability the printers had them in type before that time. The fact that the title page was printed separately from the rest of the signature suggests that it was done last and perhaps later than the body of the pamphlet.

Evans 14759, Sabin 25285.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, ICN, InU, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

216a. [GREEN, JACOB] 1722-1790.

Observations On The Reconciliation Of Great-Britain, And The Colonies, In Which Are Exhibited Arguments For, And Against, That Measure. . . .

Philadelphia; Printed, by Robert Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-40 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 (E4 advts.).

Advertised in the *Philadelphia Evening Post* for April 20, 1776. Two states noted, one with a comma and one with a colon after "Observations" on the title page. Pages 33-40 contain "The Plan Of An American Compact, With Great-Britain. First Published at New York." For authorship see: Ashbel Green's *Life of Jacob Green*, New York, 1849, p. 46.

Evans 14791, Sabin 56558.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, PP, PPL, ViU, WHi.

216b. [———]. ———.

New-York: Printed by John Holt . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-16 p., 8vo, [A]-B^4.

Advertised in the *New-York Journal*, April 25, 1776.

Evans 14790.

Copies: DLC, NHi.

217. GRIFFITH, DAVID, 1742-1789.

Passive Obedience Considered: In A Sermon Preached At Williamsburg, December 31st 1775 . . . Published At The Request Of The General Convention.

Williamsburg: Printed by Alexander Purdie [1776].

[1]-26 p., 4to, [A]-C^4 D^1.

Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie) for March 29, 1776.

Evans 14793, Sabin 28823.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, NjP, PPL.

218. Huntington, Enoch, 1739-1809.

The Happy Effects Of Union, And The Fatal Tendency Of Diversions. Shewn In A Sermon Preached Before The Freemen Of The Town Of Middletown . . . April 8, 1776. . . .

Hartford: Printed By Eben. Watson . . . mdcclxxvi.

[1]-28 p., 8vo, [A]^8 B^4 C^2.

Evans 14805, Sabin 33958.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi.

219a. [Inglis, Charles] 1734-1816.

The Deceiver Unmasked; Or, Loyalty And Interest United: In Answer To A Pamphlet Entitled Common Sense. By A Loyal American. . . .

New-York· Printed By Samuel Loudon. m.dcc.lxxvi.

[i]-viii, [9]-87 p., 12mo, A-G^6 H^2.

Advertised in the *New-York Gazette & Weekly Mercury* for March 18, 1776. The existence of this reply to Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, Philadelphia, 1776, no. 222, was first noted by A. J. Wall in "The Burning of the Pamphlet 'The Deceiver Unmasked' in 1776," *The American Book Collector*, vol. III (1926), pp. 106-111. There he tells of the destruction of the entire edition by a mob on the night of March 19th. In confirmation of this there is bound in the John Carter Brown copy of the second Philadelphia edition, no. 219c, a leaf of manuscript headed "For His Excellency William Eden Esq From The Author." It reads in part, "This Pamphlet was first printed at New York, in March 1776; & when advertised for Sale, the whole impression seized & burned by the *Sons of Liberty*. The Author, with much Trouble & no less Hazard, conveyed a Copy to Philadelphia, after expunging some Passages that gave greatest offence, softening others, inserting a few adapted to the Spirit of the Times, & altering the Title Page" had it printed. For authorship see: John W. Lydekker's *The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis*, London, 1936, p. 152.

Copies: NHi, PPAmP.

219b. [———]. The True Interest Of America Impartially Stated, In Certain Strictures On A Pamphlet Intitled Common Sense. By An American....

Philadelphia. Printed And Sold By James Humphreys, Junr., . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

[i]-viii, [9]-71 p., 8vo, A-I⁴.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 29, 1776.

Evans 14809, Sabin 97119.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NcD, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

219c. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 1, 1776. Printed from substantially the same type as no. 219b.

Evans 14810, Sabin 97119.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MBAt, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

[LEE, ARTHUR]. *An Appeal to the Justice and Interests of the People of Great Britain.* London, 1776, see: 123e.

[———]. ———. Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1776, see: 123f.

[LEONARD, DANIEL]. *Massachusettensis.* London, 1776, see: 180c, 180d, 180e, 180f.

[———]. ———. Dublin, 1776, see: 180g.

220a. [MACPHERSON, JAMES] 1736-1796.

The Rights Of Great Britain Asserted Against The Claims Of America: Being An Answer To The Declaration Of The General Congress.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-92 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]² B-L⁴ M² N⁴.

This is a reply to the Continental Congress's "Declaration . . . Setting Forth The Causes and Necessity of their Taking up Arms" adopted July 6, 1775, and here reprinted on pp. 85-92. The *Monthly Review* for February, 1776 states that "This celebrated performance is said to have been written, printed and liberally distributed both in Great Britain and America, at the instance and expense of government . . ."

The authorship has been the subject of dispute. The Macpherson claim seems to be the strongest. Beginning in 1776, Lord North employed him as a political writer. In the "Advertisement" at the front the author says that he ". . . had access to original papers, accurate estimates, and authentic dispatches" and ". . . the records of both Houses of Parliament . . ." The RPJCB copy of the eighth edition, no. 220k, was in the library of Sir John Mackintosh, 1765-1832. In it he made a note on September 13, 1809 as follows, "This pamphlet was written by James Macpherson the translator of *Ossian*." He later changed his mind because there is another note reading "Now owned to be by Sir John Dalrymple." However, this second note must have been made many, many years after the event and neither of the two Sir John Dalrymples to whom he might have been referring is as likely a candidate as Macpherson. Sir John Dalrymple, fifth earl of Stair, 1720-1789, was active in politics, but in 1774 he presented a petition on behalf of Massachusetts to the House of Commons and is known to have opposed the measures that led to the Revolution, while Sir John Dalrymple, fourth baronet of Cranstoun, 1726-1810, became baron of the exchequer in 1776, but is not known to have had any direct interest in American affairs before that time. The attributions to Henry Mackenzie and Lord George Germain apparently have no really strong support.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MB, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB.

220b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 220a.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

220c. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

[London] Printed [for T. Cadell] in the Year MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-92 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-D^8 E-H^4 K^2 I^4.

This may be the printing designed for America mentioned in the note under 220a.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MB, MBAt, MHi, MiU-C, PU, ViU.

220d. [———]. ———. The Third Edition, With Additions.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-96 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-N^4.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: BM, CSmH, DLC, MiU-C, RPJCB.

220e. [———]. ———. The Third Edition, With Additions.

Same imprint.

3 p. l., [1]-96 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^3 B-N^4.

Same sheets as no. 220d with an "Advertisement" on one leaf describing how the pamphlet was written inserted in the first signature.

Copies: CtY, ICN, MH, MiU-C, NN.

220f. [———]. ———. The Third Edition, With Additions.

Same imprint.

3 p. l., [1]-101 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^3 B-N^4 O^3.

Same sheets as no. 220e with the "Articles of Confederation," on pp. 97-101, added at the end. The Articles were adopted November 15, 1777, which means that this and all subsequent editions like it were not printed in 1776. However, they are included because they are so dated.

Copies: MiU-C.

220g. [———]. ———. The Fourth Edition, With Additions.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-103 p., fold. table, 12mo, [A]^2 B-I^6 K^4.

A reprint of no. 220f.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MiU-C, NHi, NN.

220h. [———]. ———. The Fifth Edition, With Additions.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-115 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-P^4 Q^2.

A reprint of no. 220f.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MB, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NcD, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

220i. [———]. ———. The Sixth Edition To Which Is Now Added A Refutation Of Dr. Price's State of the National Debt.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-123 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-P^4 Q^2 R^4.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 220h with the answer to Price added on pp. 116-123 at the end.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, InU, MH, MiU-C.

220j. [———]. ———. The Seventh Edition To Which Is Now Added A Refutation Of Dr. Price's State of the National Debt.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-84 p., fold. table, 12 mo, [A]^2 B-H^6.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MiU-C, NHi, PPAmP, PPL, ViU.

220k. [———]. ———. The Eighth Edition To Which Is Now Added A Refutation of Dr. Price's State of the National Debt.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-123 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-P^4 Q^2 R^4.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 220i.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, RPJCB.

220l. [———]. ———. The Ninth Edition. To Which Is Now Added, A Further Refutation Of Dr. Price's State of the National Debt.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-131 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-P^4 Q^2 R-S^4.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 220i with new material on pp. 123-131.

Sabin 18347.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, MBAt, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPL.

220m. [———]. ———. The Tenth Edition. To Which Is Now Added, A Refutation Of Dr. Price's State of the National Debt.

Same imprint.

2 p. l., [1]-131, [1] p., fold. table (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]^2 B-P^4 Q^2 R-S^4.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 220l with advertisements added on the verso of the last leaf.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

220n. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.
Dublin: Printed by Caleb Jenkins . . . MDCCLXXVI.
2 p. l., [1]-60 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^2 B-G^4 H^6.
A reprint of no. 220a.
Copies: CtY, ICN, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

220o. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.
Same imprint.
3 p. l., [1]-66 p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^3 B-G^4 H^6 I^3.
Same printing as no. 220n with the additions made to no. 220e to form no. 220f.
Copies: MiU-C.

220p. [———]. ———.
Glasgow: Printed From The Fourth London Edition. MDCCLXXVI.
[1]-78 p., fold. table, 8vo, [-]^2 A-I^4 K^2.
Copies: CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MWA, MiU-C.

220q. [———]. ———. The Sixth Edition With Additions.
Edinburgh: Printed for Charles Elliot. M,DCC,LXXVI.
2 p. l., [1]-98 [2] p., fold. table (last 2 p. advts.), 12mo, [A]^2 B-I^6 K^2.
A reprint of no. 220f.
Sabin 18347.
Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, NN, PHi, PPL.

220r. [———]. ———. The Seventh Edition With Additions.
Aberdeen: Printed by J. Chalmers and Co. MDCCLXXVI.
[1]-72 p., 12mo, A-F^6.
A reprint of no. 220f.
Copies: CtY, MiU-C.

220s. [———]. ———. Said to be Written by Lord George Germaine [*sic*].
London Printed: Philadelphia Re-Printed, and Sold by R. Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.
[1]-92, [1-4] p., fold. table, 8vo, [A]^8 B-K^4 M^4.
A reprint of no. 220a. Evans 14728 lists a second Philadelphia edition, but no copy has been located.

Evans 14727, Sabin 18347.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

220t. [———]. Les Droits De La Grande Bretagne, Etablis contre les prétentions des Américains, Pour servir de Réponse à la Déclaration Du Congrès Général. Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois, sur la seconde Edition. Par Mr. Fréville.

A La Haye, Chez Pierre-Frederic Gosse . . . MDCCLXXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-98 p., fold. table, 8vo, [-]^{1} A-F^{8} G^{3} (G2 & G3 blank).

Sabin 18348.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MB, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PU.

221a. Morton, Perez, 1751-1837.

An Oration; Delivered At the King's-Chapel In Boston, April 8, 1776, On the Re-Interment of the Remains of the late Most Worshipful Grand-Master Joseph Warren . . . Who was Slain in the Battle of Bunker's-Hill, June 17, 1775. . . .

Boston: Printed, And To Be Sold By J. Gill . . . 1776.

[1]-13 p., 4to, [A]^{4} B^{3}.

Evans 14892, Sabin 51021.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, PHi, RPJCB.

221b. ———. ———. ⟨The Second Edition.⟩

Same imprint and collation.

The edition statement appears at the bottom of the title page outside the mourning border. Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 221a.

Evans 14893, Sabin 51021.

Copies: MB, MH, MHi, MWA, RPJCB.

221c. ———. ———.

Boston: Printed, New-York: Re-printed, by John Holt. MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-11 p., 8vo, [A]^{2} [B]^{4}.

Advertised in the *New-York Journal* for May 30, 1776.

Evans 14894, Sabin 51021.

Copies: MBAt, NN.

221d. ———. ———.

Boston, Printed: Philadelphia, Re-Printed By John Dunlap . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-16 p., 4to, [A]-D^2.

Evans 14895, Sabin 51021.

Copies: MiU-C, PHi, PPL.

222a. [PAINE, THOMAS] 1736-1809.

Common Sense: Addressed To The Inhabitants Of America. . . .

Philadelphia; Printed, and Sold, by R. Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-79, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]^2 B-L^4.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for January 9, 1776. No attempt has been made here to provide a complete analysis of the many editions, issues, and states of this pamphlet. Those problems have been solved by Richard Gimbel in his *Thomas Paine A Bibliographical Check List of Common Sense With An Account of its Publication*, New Haven, 1956. The listing here is primarily a summary of that work. Two issues of this edition exist. The first has line one of Subject IV on the title page ending "mis-" and the second ends "some."

Evans 14954, Gimbel CS 1 & 2.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

222b. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for January 27, 1776.

Evans 19464, Gimbel CS 3.

Copies: CtHi, CtY, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, PHi, PPL, PU.

222c. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

This edition is also found with the *Large Additions* bound at the end, no. 222a to form no. 222f.

Evans 14966 (2nd title), Gimbel CS 4.

Copies: CtHWatk, ICN, MBAt, MH, MWA, NN, PU.

222d. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed. And Sold by R. Bell . . . 1776.

2 p. l., 1-77 p., 4to, [A]-K^4.

This consists of *Common Sense*, pp. 1-44, and the *Large Additions*, pp. 45-77. Gimbel suggests that this edition was issued late in February of 1776.

Gimbel CS 8.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MWA, NHi, NN, PU, RPJCB.

222e. [———]. Common Sense; With The Whole Appendix: The Address To The Quakers: Also, The Large Additions, And A Dialogue between the Ghost of General Montgomery . . . and an American Delegate . . . On the Grand Subject of American Independancy.

Philadelphia: Printed, and Sold by R. Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

3 p. l., [1]-79, [3], [81]-147, [3] p., 1 l., [5]-16 p., 8vo, $[A]^3$ B-L^4 [a]-$[b]^2$ $[c]^1$ N-U^4 $[d]^2$ A^4 $[B]^2$.

Gimbel says that there is a newspaper advertisement of March 19, 1776, referring to this that reads "Lately printed, published and now selling." There is also an advertisement for February 20th for the *Large Additions* which has a note saying "The large edition of *Common Sense*, with all the Additions and Appendix, may be had at said Bell's . . ." The latter may have been referring to this edition or to no. 222d. The "Appendix" was taken from no. 222f. The "Additions" were taken from various Philadelphia newspapers. The sixteen pages at the end consists of *A Dialogue between The Ghost of General Montgomery . . . and an American Delegate* with a special title page. For details see Gimbel.

Evans 14966, Gimbel CS 9.

Copies: DLC, ICN, MH, NN, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB, WHi.

222f. [———]. Common Sense; Addressed To The Inhabitants Of America . . . A New Edition, with several Additions . . . To which is added an Appendix; together with an Address to the People called Quakers. . . .

Philadelphia Printed. And Sold by W. and T. Bradford. [1776].

3 p. l., [1]-50 p., 8vo, $[A]^3$ B-G^4 H^1.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for February 14, 1776. Bradford had two separate printings prepared for him by two different printers. For details see Gimbel.

Evans 14959, Gimbel CS 10, 11, 12, 13.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MB, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

222g. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by W. and T. Bradford. M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-99 p., 8vo, [A]-M⁴ N².

Gimbel asks whether this might have been printed in Dublin, or perhaps London. There are certain hiatuses in the text which suggest a British printing. When one recalls the frequency with which Irish printers reprinted American political pamphlets of this period it seems odd to find that there is no edition of *Common Sense* with an Irish imprint. Gimbel notes two states. A reprint of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 14 & 15.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PU, RPJCB.

222h. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia Printed: Newbury-Port, Reprinted, for Samuel Phillips, jun. of Andover. [1776].

[1]-61, [1] p., 8vo, [A]-H⁴ (H4 blank).

A reprint of no. 222f. See also no. 222p.

Gimbel CS 17.

Copies: CtY, MH, NN, RPJCB.

222i. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed. Boston, Re-Printed And Sold by Edes & Gill and T. & J. Fleet. MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-44 p., 4to, [A]-F⁴.

A reprint of no. 222a. See also no. 223b.

Evans 14955, Gimbel CS 18.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, NN, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

222j. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by R. Bell . . . And Re printed and Sold in Charlestown, South Carolina, By David Bruce . . . MDCCLXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-68 p., 8vo, [A]² B-I⁴.

A reprint of no. 222a.

Gimbel CS 20.

Copies: Bodl.

222k. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Hartford: Re-Printed, and Sold by Eben. Watson. [1776].

[1]-59 p., 12mo, [A]⁴ B-E⁶ [F]².

Half-title wanting from only located copy, but assumed from the sequence of signatures and pagination.

Gimbel CS 22.

Copies: MWA.

222l. [———]. ———. A New Edition . . . The Fourth Edition.

Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey . . . [1776].

[1]-63 p., 8vo, [A]-H⁴.

A reprint of no. 222f.

Evans 14960, Gimbel CS 23.

Copies: DLC, MiU-C.

222m. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: New-York, Reprinted and Sold, by John Anderson . . . [1776].

2 p. l., [1]-56 p., 8vo, [A]-G⁴ H².

Advertised in a New York newspaper for February 15, 1776. A reprint of no. 222a.

Evans 14956, Gimbel CS 40.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, MWA, NN, PHi, RPJCB.

222n. [———]. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

The last part of this is from substantially the same setting of type as no. 222m. A reprint of no. 222a.

Gimbel CS 41.

Copies: CtY, NN.

222o. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia Printed: Newbury Port, Reprinted, by John Mycall . . . [1776].

[1]-61, [1] p., 8vo, [A]-H⁴ (H4 blank).

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 222h. A reprint of no. 222f.

Evans 14961, Gimbel CS 42.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PU, RPJCB.

222p. [———]. Common Sense [&c.]. . . .

Newport: Printed and Sold by Solomon Southwick. M,DCC,LXX,VI.

2 p. l., [1]-16 p., [1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-B⁴ C² [A]⁸ B-D⁴.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for April 8, 1776. This consists of the sheets of no. 222bb with the title page removed and the first half of the text added in the first sixteen pages. Undoubtedly this first section was also sold or given away separately to those who had already acquired no. 222bb. A reprint of no. 222a.

Alden 639, Gimbel CS 46.

Copies: BM, DLC, MB, MHi, MWA, NHi, RPB.

222q. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed. Norwich: Re-printed and Sold by Judah P. Spooner, and by T. Green, in New London, MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-56 p., 4to, [A]-G^4.

A reprint of no. 222a.

Evans 14957, Gimbel CS 49.

Copies: BM, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, NN, PU.

222r. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed. Norwich: Re-printed and Sold by Judah P. Spooner, and by T. Green, in New-London [1776].

[1]-64 p., 4to, [A]-H^4.

A reprint of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 50.

Copies: MWA, MiU-C, RPJCB.

222s. [———]. ———. The Sixth Edition.

Philadelphia, Printed: Providence, Re-printed and Sold by John Carter . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-33 p., 4to, [A]-D^4 [E]^1.

Advertised in the *Providence Gazette* for February 24, 1776. A reprint of no. 222a.

Evans 14958, Alden 636, Gimbel CS 51.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MH, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

222t. [———]. ———. The Sixth Edition.

Same imprint.

[1]-45, [1] p., 4to, [A]-D^4 [-]^1 E-G^2.

This consists of the sheets of no. 222s plus *Appendix to Common Sense: The Necessity of Independency* on pp. [35]-45. The last section was advertised for sale separately in the *Providence Gazette* for March 2,

1776, but it was also issued with no. 222s. A reprint of no. 222f.

Alden 637, Gimbel CS 51 & 52.

Copies: DLC, PU, RPB.

222u. [———]. ———. The Tenth Edition.

Same imprint.

[1]-33 p., 4to, [A]-D^4 E^1.

A reprint of no. 222a. Some copies may be found with the *Appendix* described in no. 222t.

Alden 638, Gimbel CS 53.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MWA, RPJCB.

222v. [———]. ———. The Third Edition.

Philadelphia Printed: Salem: Re-Printed and sold by E. Russell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-28 p., 4to, [A]-C^4 D^2.

A reprint of no. 222a.

Evans 14962, Gimbel CS 55.

Copies: DLC, MHi, MWA, PU.

222w. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Printed, For the Perusal of the Inhabitants of the Thirteen United Colonies. MDCCLXXVI.

[i]-viii, 9-44 p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 F^2.

A reprint of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 56.

Copies: PPL.

222x. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia, Printed . . . Edinburgh, reprinted . . . Sold by Charles Elliot, Edinburgh; and William Anderson, Stirling, MDCCLXXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-99 p., 12mo, [-]^1 A-H^6 I^2.

A reprint of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 21.

Copies: BM, CtY, InU, MBAt, MiU-C, PHi, PPL.

222y. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia, Printed, London, Reprinted, For J. Almon . . . 1776.

2 p. l., [1]-54 p., 8vo, [A]^2 B-G^4 H^2 I^1.

This was also issued with a collective half-title, in four editions with James Chalmers's *Plain Truth*, no. 208e and f. There are a number of states. See Gimbel for details. A reprint of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 38, 39.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPB, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

222z. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Philadelphia, Printed, Newcastle Upon Tyne, Re-printed: By T. Robson and Co. for the Newcastle Weekly Magazine. MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-56 p., 8vo, [-]^4 C-H^4.

A reprint of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 43.

Copies: PU.

222aa. [———]. ———. A New Edition. . . .

Same imprint.

[1]-94 p., 8vo, [-]^4 C-M^4 N^3.

Same sheets as no. 223a with the *Additions* added at the end. These *Additions* are a reprint of the edition printed in London, no. 223d.

Gimbel CS 44.

Copies: CSmH, MH, NN, RPJCB.

222bb. [———]. Thoughts of the present state of American Affairs: Extracted from a Pamphlet, Lately published in Philadelphia, entitled Common Sense. . . .

Newport: Printed and Sold by Solomon Southwick. MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

This consists of only the second half of *Common Sense*. Southwick later combined it with the first part, see no. 222p.

Evans 14965, Gimbel CS 45, Alden 641.

Copies: NN.

222cc. [———]. Gesunde Vernunft an die Einwohner von America . . . Nebst Einem Anhang. . . .

Philadelphia, Gedruckt bey Melchior Steiner und Carl Cist . . . 1776.

[i]-viii, 1-70 p., 8vo, [-]^4 A-J^4 (J4 blank).

A translation of no. 222f.

Evans 14963, Gimbel CS 16.

Copies: CtY, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPL.

222dd. [———]. Le Sens Commun, Addressé Aux Habitants De L'Amérique . . . Nouvelle Edition, Avec plusieurs additions dans le carpo de l'ouvrage, aquel on a ajouté un Appendix, Et une Lettre au peuple Appelle Quakers . . . Traduit De L'Anglois. Sur la nouvelle édition, imprimée à Philadelphie & réimprimée à Londres.

A Rotterdam [*i.e.* Paris?], Chez J. Hofhout et E. Wolfsbergen, Libraires . . . 1776.

[1]-80 p., 8vo, A-E^8.

A translation of no. 222f.

Gimbel CS 54.

Copies: DLC, MH, MiU-C, PPL, PU.

223a. [Paine, Thomas] 1736-1809.

Large Additions to Common Sense. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed, and Sold, by R. Bell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

1 p. l., [81]-147, [2] p., 8vo, [M]^4 [-]^1 N-T^2 U^3.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* for February 17, 1776 to appear on the 19th. This is primarily made up of the "Additions," pages 81-119, which are not by Paine, but which had appeared in various Philadelphia newspapers, and of the "Appendix," which was by Paine and first appeared in no. 222f. Although the contents are the same, Gimbel notes three different editions and issues. The first has five subjects listed and the line following the subjects reads "To which is added. . . ." The second has six subjects and the line reads as above. The third has six subjects and the line reads "To which are added. . . ." Although issued alone, this was also issued with no. 222c to make up no. 222e. It also appeared in no. 222d.

Evans 14966 (3rd title), Gimbel CS 5, 6, 7.

Copies: BM, CtHi, CtHWatk, DLC, MBAt, MHi, MWA, NN, PHi, PPL, PU.

223b. [———]. ———.

Boston: Printed and Sold [by Edes & Gill] at the Printing-Office in Queen-Street. 1776.

[1]-43, [1] p., 8vo, [A]-E^4 F^2.

Issued to accompany no. 222i with which it is sometimes bound.

Gimbel CS 19.

Copies: MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, RPJCB.

223c. [———]. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed: Newport, Re-printed and Sold by S. Southwick, 1776.

1 p. l., [33]-70 p., 1 l., 8vo, [A]-E⁴ [F]¹.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for March 18, 1776. Also issued with no. 222p.

Evans 14965 (2nd title), Alden 640, Gimbel CS 48.

Copies: CtHWatk, InU, RPJCB.

223d. [———]. Additions to Common Sense Addressed to The Inhabitants of America.

Philadelphia, Printed: London, Reprinted for J. Almon . . . 1776.

[1]-47, [1] p. (last p. advts.), 8vo, [A]² B-F⁴ G².

Properly this should not be listed under Paine. It consists of five of the six things in 222a drawn from the Philadelphia newspapers which Paine did not write plus four other things from other sources.

Gimbel CS 203.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NcD, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB, ViU.

224a. PRICE, RICHARD, 1723-1791.

Observations On The Nature Of Civil Liberty, The Principles Of Government, And The Justice And Policy Of The War With America. . . .

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . M.DCC.LXXVI.

4 p. l., [1]-128 p., 8vo, [A]⁴ B-I⁸.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MH, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

224b. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224a.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PPL, RPB, RPJCB.

224c. ———. ———. The Third Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224a.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, InU, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, WHi.

224d. ———. ———. The Fourth Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224a.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PP, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

224e. ———. ———. The Fifth Edition.

Same imprint.

4 p. l., [1]-132 p., 8vo, $[A]^4$ B-I^8 K^2.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224a except that "Preface to The Fifth Edition" dated March 16, 1776, has been placed in signature A in place of the half title and a "Postscript" (pp. 129-132) has been added at the end.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, InU, MBAt, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

224f. ———. ———. The Sixth Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224e.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, MH, MHi, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PU, RPJCB.

224g. ———. ———.

London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXVI.

[1]-48 p., 8vo, A-C^8.

No edition statement on the title page.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MH, MiU-C, PPL, RPJCB.

224h. ———. ———. The Sixth Edition.

London: Printed for E. and C. Dilly . . . and T. Cadell . . . MDCCLXXVI.

Same collation.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224g.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MH, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

224i. ———. ———. The Seventh Edition, With Corrections and Additions.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . M.DCC.LXXVI. . . .

4 p. l., [1]-134 p., 8vo, [A]⁴ B-I⁸ K⁴ (K4 blank).

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224e through page 111.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: CtY, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PPAmP, RPJCB, ViU.

224j. ———. ———. The Seventh Edition.

London: Printed for E. and C. Dilly . . . and T. Cadell . . . M.DCC.LXXVI.

[1]-48 p., 8vo, [A]-C⁸.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224g.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, MiU-C, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

———. ———. The Eighth Edition. With Corrections and Additions.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . MDCCLXXVI. . . .

3 p. l., [1]-112 p., 8vo, [a6-a8] B-H⁴.

This is not a separate publication, but was issued as a part of his *Two Tracts On Civil Liberty*, London, 1778. Obviously this and later Cadell editions and probably some of the earlier ones were not issued in 1776. They are included here, however, because they are so dated.

224k. ———. ———. The Ninth Edition.

London: Printed For Edward And Charles Dilly, And Thomas Cadell. M.DCC.LXXVI.

[1]-48 p., 8vo, A-C⁸.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

224l. [———. ———. The Tenth Edition].

[London, 1776].

No copy located. Included here to complete the numerical sequence.

Sabin 65452.

224m. ———. ———. The Eleventh Edition, with Additions; corrected by the Author.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . E. and C. Dilly . . . and J. Johnson . . . M.DCC.LXXVI.

[1]-71 p., 12mo, A-C^{12}.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, MB, MHi, PPAmP, RPJCB.

224n. [———. ——— The Twelfth Edition].

[London, 1776].

No copy located. Included here to complete the numerical sequence.

Sabin 65452.

224o. ———. ———. The Thirteenth Edition, with Additions; corrected by the Author.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . E. and C. Dilly . . . and J. Johnson . . . M.DCC.LXXVI. . . .

[1]-72 p., 12mo, A-C^{12}.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224m through page 60.

Copies: MH, MWA, RPJCB.

224p. ———. ———. A New Edition corrected by the Author.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . and J. Johnson . . . M.DCC.LXXVI. . . .

1 p. l., [1]-76 p., 12mo, [-]^{1} A-B^{12} C-D^{6} E^{2}.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

224q. ———. ———. The Eighth Edition, newly corrected by the Author.

Edinburgh . . . Printed for J. Wood and J. Dickson. M,DCC,LXXVI.

4 p. l., [1]-94 p., 12mo, [-]^{4} A-H^{6} (H6 blank).

A reprint of no. 224e.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, InU, MBAt, MiU-C, PHi, RPJCB.

224r. ———. ———.

Dublin: Printed for J. Exshaw, S. Price, W. Whitestone, W. Sleater . . . [and sixteen others] M,DCC,LXXVI.

4 p. l., [1]-180 p., fold. table, 12mo, [A]^{4} B-H^{12} I^{6}.

A reprint of no. 224a.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtY, ICN, MH, MiU-C, RPJCB.

224s. ———. ———. The Eighth Edition.

Dublin: Printed By W. Kidd, For J. Exshaw, S. Price, W. Whitestone, W. Sleater . . . [and sixteen others] 1776.

[i]-xii, [1]-179 p., 12mo, [A]^{6} B-H^{12} I^{6}.

A reprint of no. 224a.

Sabin 65452.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, NN, PP, PPL.

224t. ———. ———.

London Printed, 1776. Philadelphia: Re-printed and Sold by John Dunlap . . . [1776].

[1]-61 [*i.e.* 71] p., 8vo, [A]-I^{4}.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 1, 1776. A reprint of no. 224a.

Evans 15030, Sabin 65452.

Copies: CtY, DLC, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

224u. ———. ———.

London Printed, 1776. Philadelphia: Re-printed and Sold by John Dunlap . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-71 p., 8vo, [A]-I^{4}.

Printed from substantially the same setting of type as no. 224t. A reprint of no. 224a.

Evans 15031, Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CtY, DLC, MBAt, MH, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, NjP, PHi, PU, RPJCB, ViU, WHi.

224v. ———. ———.

London, Printed: New-York, Re-printed by S. Loudon . . . 1776.

[1]-107 p., 12mo, A-I^{6}.

A reprint of no. 224a.

Evans 15033, Sabin 65452.

Copies: CSmH, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

224w. ———. ———.

London Printed 1776. Boston, Re-printed and Sold by T. and J. Fleet [1776?].

[1]-71 p., 4to, [A]-I⁴.

A reprint of no. 224a.

Evans 15032, Sabin 65452.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB, ViU.

224x. ———. ———.

London: Printed for T. Cadell . . . and Reprinted And Sold By David Bruce In Charlestown, South-Carolina. MDCCLXXVI.

4 p. l., [1]-104 p., 8vo, [A]-M⁴ N⁸.

A reprint of no. 224e.

Evans 15034, Sabin 65452.

Copies: DLC, RPJCB.

224y. ———. Aanmerkingen Over Den Aart Der Burgerlyke Vryheid, Over De Gronden Der Regeering, En Over De Regtveerdigheid En Staatkunde Van Den Oorlog Met Amerika . . . Naar den Elfden door den Schryver Vermeerderden en Verbeeterden Druk uit het Engelsch vertaald. Door Johan Derk Baron Van Der Capellen. . . .

Te Leyden By L. Herding, 1776.

[1]-18, [1-2], 1-116, 1-25, 1-2 p. (last 2 p. advts.), 8vo, *⁸ **² A-G⁸ H² A-B⁸.

Translated from no. 224e.

Sabin 65455.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MBAt, MH, NN, RPJCB.

224z. ———. Observations Sur La Nature De La Liberté Civile, Sur Les Principes Du Gouvernement, Sur La Justice Et La Politique De La Guerre Avec L'Amérique. auxquelles on a ajouté un Appendix & un Postscriptum . . . Traduit de l'Anglois, Sur la onzième Édition. . . .

A Rotterdam [*i.e.* Paris?], Chez Hofhout & Wolfsbergen . . . MDCCLXXVI.

3 p. l., 1-148 p., 8vo, *² [-]¹ A-I⁸ K².

Sabin 65453.

Copies: CtY, ICN, MB, MH, PPL, RPJCB.

225. Remarks On A Late Pamphlet Entitled Plain Truth. By Rusticus.

Philadelphia: Printed By John Dunlap . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-31 p., 8vo, B^4 B-D^4.

This is a reply to James Chalmers's *Plain Truth*, Philadelphia, 1776, no. 208. It has frequently been attributed to John Dickinson. This attribution is most unlikely. The author who signed the pamphlet "New-Jersey, May 8th, 1776" apparently had been living in New Jersey for some time because he says "I have a friend in the city who furnishes me with all political publications . . . but by some miscarriage the pamphlet entitled Plain Truth did not get to hand till within these few days." He then goes on to castigate Chalmers for his effrontery in dedicating *Plain Truth* to Dickinson. During these spring months of 1776, Dickinson was at his home in Philadelphia, a member of the Congress. Furthermore, the sentiments expressed by this pamphlet are decidedly different from those known to have been held by Dickinson as early as January, 1776 and expressed in his "Speech of John Dickinson Opposing the Declaration of Independence, 1 July, 1776," edited by J. H. Powell in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. LXV (1941), pp. 458-481. Also Dickinson did not include it in his *Political Writings*, Wilmington, 1801, 2v.

Evans 14735.

Copies: CSmH, DLC, MB, MWA, NHi, PHi, PPAmP, PPL, RPJCB.

226. Ross, ROBERT, 1726-1799.

A Sermon, In Which The Union Of The Colonies Is Considered And Recommended; And The Bad Consequences Of Divisions Are Represented. Delivered On The Public Thanksgiving. November sixteenth, 1775. . . .

New-York: Printed by John Holt . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-28 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 D^2.

Evans 15070, Sabin 73407. The death date of 1782 that Evans gives for the author actually applies to Aeneas Ross who died in New Castle, Delaware, in that year.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, MHi, MWA, NHi, NN, PHi, WHi.

SHARP, GRANVILLE. *A Declaration of the People's Natural Right.* Dublin, 1776, see: 139h.

227. Sherwood, Samuel, 1730-1783.

The Church's Flight Into The Wilderness: An Address On The Times. Containing Some very interesting and important Observations on Scripture Prophecies: Shewing, that sundry of them plainly relate to Great-Britain, and the American Colonies; and are fulfilling in the present day. Delivered on a Public Occasion, January 17, 1776. . . .

New-York: Printed by S. Loudon. M.DCC.LXXVI.

[1]-54 p., 8vo, [A]-G^4 (G4 blank).

Evans 15082, Sabin 80455.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPAmP, RPJCB.

228a. Smith, William, 1727-1803.

An Oration In Memory Of General Montgomery, And Of The Officers And Soldiers Who Fell With Him, December 31, 1775 Before Quebec . . . (. . . Delivered February 19th, 1776.) At The Desire Of The Honorable Continental Congress. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-44 p., 8vo, [-]^2 A-E^4 [F]^2.

Advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for March 4, 1776. Two states noted, one with "errata" on page 44 and one without. The Library of Congress Catalog describes this as having 3 p. l. However, investigation proved their collation to be incorrect. The Congress was so annoyed with some of the things Smith said in this Oration that it refused to vote him their thanks. He had it printed himself after omitting some of the more offensive passages. See: letter from John Adams to Abigail Adams April 28th, 1776, *Familiar Letters,* edited by C. F. Adams, 1876, p. 167.

Evans 15084, Sabin 84633.

Copies: CSmH, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NjP, PHi, PPAmP, PPRos, PPL, PU, RPJCB.

228b. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: New-York Re-printed by John Anderson . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-36 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4 E^2.

Sabin 84632 lists a second New York edition printed by Hugh Gaine from an advertisement in his *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* for March 25, 1776. No copy has been located and it probably is a ghost. There is no evidence other than this that Gaine ever put his

name on pamphlets of this kind. He was probably selling Dunlap's Philadelphia edition, no. 228a, or this edition.

Evans 15085, Sabin 84634.

Copies: MBAt, MWA, NN.

228c. ———. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed: Newport: Re-Printed By Solomon Southwick. M,DCC,LXXVI.

1 p. l., [1]-30 p., 8vo, [A]-D^4.

Advertised in the *Newport Mercury* for April 8, 1776.

Evans 15086, Sabin 84635, Alden 669.

Copies: DLC, MHi, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PU, RPJCB.

228d. ———. ———.

Philadelphia Printed: Norwich: Re-printed, by Robertsons and Trumbull, 1776.

[1]-22 p., 8vo, [A]-C^4 (C4 blank).

Evans 15087, Sabin 84636.

Copies: CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MH, MWA, NHi, PU, RPJCB.

228e. ———. ———.

Philadelphia, Printed; London, Reprinted for J. Almon . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[i]-iv, [1]-36 p., 8vo, [-]^2 A-D^4 E^2.

Sabin 84637.

Copies: BM, CtY, InU, MB, MH, MWiW-C, MiU-C, NHi, NN, PHi, PU, RPJCB.

228f. ———. ———. The Second Edition.

Same imprint and collation.

Sabin 84638.

Copies: CtY, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PU, WHi.

228g. ———. ———.

Philadelphia, printed: New Castle, Reprinted by T. Robson and Co. . . . [1776?].

[1]-35 p., 4to, A-C^4 D^6.

Sabin 84639.

Copies: CtY, NN.

228h. ———. ———.

Philadelphia: Printed . . . and Belfast: Reprinted, by James Magee . . . MDCCLXXVI.

[1]-48 p., 8vo, A-F⁴.

Sabin 84640.

Copies: MiU-C, PPL.

SMITH, WILLIAM. *A Sermon on the Present Situation of American Affairs.* Edinburgh, 1776, see: 196n.

229. THACHER, PETER, 1752-1802.

An Oration Delivered At Watertown, March 5, 1776. To Commemorate The Bloody Massacre At Boston: Perpetrated March 5, 1770. . . .

Watertown: Printed and Sold by Benjamin Edes . . . M,DCC,LXXVI.

[1]-15 p., 8vo, [A]-D².

Evans 15101, Sabin 95172.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, InU, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, PHi, PPRos, RPJCB, ViU.

TUCKER, JOSIAH. *The True Interest of Great Britain.* Philadelphia, 1776, see: 144b.

230. WEST, SAMUEL, 1731-1807.

A Sermon Preached Before The Honorable Council, And The Honorable House of Representatives Of The Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, In New-England. May 29th, 1776. Being The Anniversary For The Election Of The Honorable Council For The Colony. . . .

Boston: Printed By John Gill, In Queen-Street. 1776.

[1]-70 p., 8vo, [A]-I⁴ (I4 blank).

Evans 15217, Sabin 102744.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtHWatk, CtY, DLC, ICN, MB, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, PHi, PPL.

231. WITHERSPOON, JOHN, 1722-1794.

The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men. A Sermon Preached At Princeton, On the 17th of May, 1776. Being The General Fast appointed by the Congress through the United Colonies. To Which Is Added, An Address to the Natives of Scotland residing in America. . . .

Philadelphia: Printed And Sold By R. Aitken . . . M.DCC.LXXVI.

2 p. l., [1]-78 p., 1 l. (last l. "erratum"), 8vo, [-]² A-K⁴.

Evans 15224, Sabin 104934.

Copies: BM, CSmH, CtHi, CtY, DLC, MB, MBAt, MH, MHi, MWA, MiU-C, NN, NjP, PHi, PPL, RPJCB.

INDEX TO PAMPHLET EXCHANGES

THIS short-title index lists in chronological order by the date of the first publication the nineteen groups of pamphlet exchanges that took place between 1764 and 1776 in the area covered by this bibliography. Within each group the pamphlets are arranged in their proper sequence. In general the name assigned to each series is based on the author, or when not known, the title of the first publication. The numbering within each series reflects the relationship of each of the pamphlets to the others. Thus, 2b is the second reply to the first pamphlet, 3 is the first and only reply to the second pamphlet, and 2c1 is the first reply to the third reply to the first pamphlet, see Paine series.

1764

Pownall Series

1. [Pownall, Thomas]. *The Administration of the Colonies.* London, 1764, no. 5a.
1b. [Knox, William]. *The Claim of the Colonies,* London, 1765, no. 17a-b.
1c. [Jenyns, Soame]. *The Objections to the Taxation of our American Colonies,* London, 1765, no. 16Aa-b.
2. [Dulany, Daniel]. *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes.* [Annapolis], 1765, nos. 11a-g.

1765

Hopkins Series

1. [Hopkins, Stephen]. *The Rights of Colonies Examined.* Providence, 1765, nos. 14a-b.
2. [Howard, Martin]. *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax.* Newport, 1765, no. 16.
3a. [Hopkins, Stephen]. "A Vindication of a Late Pamphlet entitled, The Rights of Colonies Examined. . . ." *Providence Gazette,* Feb. 23, March 2, 9, and April 8, 1765, no. 15, note.
3b. [Otis, James]. *A Vindication of the British Colonies.* Boston, 1765, nos. 20a-c.
4. [Howard, Martin]. *A Defense of the Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax.* Newport, 1765, no. 15.
5a. [Hopkins, Stephen]. *A Letter to the Author of the Halifax Letter.* [Newport] 1765, no. 13.
5b. [Otis, James]. *Brief Remarks on the Defense of the Halifax Libel.* Boston. 1765, no. 19.

Whatley Series

1. [Whatley, Thomas]. *The Regulations Lately Made.* London, 1765, nos. 21a-b.
2. [Bland, Richard]. *An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies.* Williamsburg, 1766, nos. 22Aa-Ab.

First Knox Series

1. [Knox, William]. *The Claim of the Colonies.* London, 1765, nos. 17a-b.
2a. [Dulany, Daniel]. *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies.* [Annapolis] 1766, nos. 11a-g.
2b. [Devotion, Ebenezer]. *The Examiner Examined.* New London, 1766, nos. 26a-b.

1766

Dickinson Series

1. [Dickinson, John]. *An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados.* Philadelphia, 1766, no. 27.
2a. *A Letter to the North American, on Occasion of his Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados.* Barbados, 1766, no. 34.
2b. [Morrison, Kenneth]. *An Essay Towards the Vindication of the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados.* Barbados, 1766, no. 36.
3. *Candid Observations on two Pamphlets Lately Published, viz.* "*An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados. . . .*" *And* "*An Essay towards the Vindication of the Committee. . . .*" Barbados, 1766, no. 23.

Pitt Series

1. [Pitt, William]. *Political Debates.* London, 1766, nos. 41a-b.
2. [Hicks, William]. *The Nature and Extent of Parliamentary Power.* Philadelphia, 1768, nos. 56a-b.

1767

A Representation of Facts Series

1. Charleston, S. C. Merchants. *A Representation of Facts, Relative to the Conduct of Daniel Moore.* Charleston, S. C., 1767, no. 47.
2. [Laurens, Henry]. *Extracts from the Proceedings of the Court of Vice-Admiralty.* [Philadelphia] 1768, nos. 57a-c.
3. Leigh, Sir Egerton. *The Man Unmasked.* Charleston, S. C., 1769, no. 66.
4. [Laurens, Henry]. *An Appendix to the Extracts from the Proceedings of the High Court of Vice-Admiralty.* Charleston, S. C., 1769, no. 57c note.

1768

The Constitutional Right Series

1. *The Constitutional Right of the Legislature of Great Britain to Tax the British Colonies.* London, 1768, no. 53.

2. *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough.* London, 1769 and Boston reprinted, 1769, nos. 67a-b.

1769

Bernard Series

1a. Massachusetts. Governor. *Copies of Letters from Governor Bernard &c.* [Boston, 1769] nos. 68a-e.

1b. Massachusetts. Governor. *Letters to the Ministry from Governor Bernard, General Gage, and Commodore Hood.* Boston, 1769, nos. 69a-c.

1c. Massachusetts. Governor. *A Third Extraordinary Budget of Epistles and Memorials.* [Boston, 1769] no. 70.

2. Boston. *An Appeal to the World.* Boston, 1769, nos. 62a-d.

3. Massachusetts, General Court. *Copy of the Complaint of the House of Representatives . . . against Sir Francis Bernard.* [London, 1770] nos. 81a-c.

Second Knox Series

1. [Knox, William]. *The Controversy Between Great-Britain and her Colonies Reviewed.* London, 1769, nos. 65a-c.

2. [Bancroft, Edward]. *Remarks on the Review of the Controversy.* London, 1769, New-London reprinted, 1771, nos. 61a-b.

1770

Boston Massacre Series

1. Boston. *A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston.* Boston, 1770, nos. 75a-i.

2. *A Fair Account of the Late Unhappy Disturbance at Boston.* London, 1770, no. 77.

3. Massachusetts. Council. *Proceedings of His Majesty's Council of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, Relative to the Deposition of Andrew Oliver.* Boston, 1770, no. 80.

1773

Mather Series

1. [Mather, Samuel]. *An Attempt to Shew, that America must be known to the Ancients.* Boston, 1773, no. 98.

2. [Prout, Timothy]. *Diana's Shrines Turned into Ready Money.* New York, 1773, no. 99.

1774

Randolph Series

1. [Randolph, John]. *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia.* [Williamsburg] 1774, no. 133.

2. [Nicholas, Robert Carter]. *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined.* [Williamsburg] 1774, no. 129.

Chandler Series

1. [Chandler, Thomas Bradbury]. *A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans.* New York, 1774, nos. 107a-e.
2a. [Livingston, Philip]. *The Other Side of the Question.* New York, 1774, no. 128.
2b. [Lee, Charles]. *Strictures On a Pamphlet, entitled A "Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans.* Philadelphia, 1774, nos. 125a-f.
3. [Barry, Henry]. *The Strictures on the Friendly Address Examined.* [Boston] 1775, nos. 151a-b.

Seabury Series

1. [Seabury, Samuel]. *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress.* New York, 1774, nos. 136a-c.
2. [Hamilton, Alexander]. *A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress.* New York, 1774, no. 116.
3a. [Seabury, Samuel]. *The Congress Canvassed.* New York, 1774, nos. 135a-b.
3b. [Seabury, Samuel]. *A View of the Controversy.* New York, 1774, nos. 137a-b.
4. [Hamilton, Alexander]. *The Farmer Refuted.* New York, 1775, no. 173.
5. [Seabury, Samuel. *The Republican Dissected.* New York, 1775.] Intended as an answer to Hamilton's pamphlet, but apparently was never published, no. 195.

Drayton Series

1. [Drayton, William Henry]. *A Letter from Freeman* [*sic*] *of South-Carolina.* Charleston, S. C., 1774, no. 111.
2. *Some Fugitive Thoughts on a Letter Signed Freeman . . . by a Back Settler.* [Charleston, S. C.] 1774, no. 142.
3. [*Comment on a Pamphlet by "A Backsettler"*. . . . Charleston, S. C., 1774.] No copy located, may be a ghost, no. 109.

1775

Gordon Series

1. Gordon, William. *A Discourse Preached December 15th, 1774.* Boston, 1775, nos. 167a-c.
2a. [Gray, Harrison]. *Observations on the Reverend Pastor of Roxbury's Thanksgiving Discourse.* Boston, 1775, no. 171.
2b. *Remarks upon a Discourse Preached December 15th.* [Boston?] 1775, no. 192.

Galloway Series

1. [Galloway, Joseph]. *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great-Britain and the Colonies.* New York, 1775, no. 164.
2. [Dickinson, John and Charles Thomson]. "To the Author of a Pamphlet entitled 'A Candid Examination,' " *Pennsylvania Journal,* March 8, 1775, no. 165 note.

3. [Galloway, Joseph]. *A Reply to an Address to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled "A Candid Examination. . . ."* New York, 1775, no. 165.

1776

Paine Series

1. [Paine, Thomas]. *Common Sense.* Philadelphia, 1776, no. 222.
2a. [Chalmers, James]. *Plain Truth.* Philadelphia, 1776, no. 208.
2a1. *Remarks on a Late Pamphlet Entitled Plain Truth.* Philadelphia, 1770, no. 225.
2b. [Inglis, Charles]. *The Deceiver Unmasked.* New York, 1776, no. 219.
2c. [Adams, John]. *Thoughts on Government.* Philadelphia, 1776, no. 205.
2c1. [Braxton, Carter]. *An Address to the Convention of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia.* Philadelphia, 1776, no. 207.
2d. *Civil Prudence, Recommended to the Thirteen United Colonies.* Norwich, 1776, no. 211.

February Meeting, 1957

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 February 1957, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the deaths of three Resident Members; that on 5 January 1957 of LLEWELLYN HOWLAND, that on 28 January of JOSEPH BREED BERRY, and that on 8 February of ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr., long an officer of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Reverend DUNCAN HOWLETT accepting election to Resident Membership, and from FRANCIS LEWIS BERKELEY accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Messrs. ABBOTT LOWELL CUMMINGS, of Boston, and WILLIAM ROTCH, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. RICHARD G. APPEL then read a paper entitled: "The Bay Psalm Book and Its Music," which was illustrated by recordings of several selections.

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by E. M. and S. B. PUKNAT, of the University of California:

An American Critic and a German Vogue
The Theatrical Pioneering of Robert Treat Paine

PREFACE

THE most recent published history devoted to the early years of the Boston stage appeared in 1853. Over a century later, it may not be premature to look back at the perplexities in criticism and the cultural battles which focused on that playhouse at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Through the career of the first dramatic critic in New England and his encounter with a German fad we try to give an image of his theatrical era with its moral conflicts and intellectual achievements.

Robert Treat Paine's fight for the existence of a theater, his pursuit of a native dramatic literature, and his luminous criticism of plays, players, playgoers and of his own cultural milieu have been forgotten, perhaps because his contemporaries insisted that he was a great poet whose dedication to the stage had brought him to ruin. Shortly after his death his verses were carefully embalmed for posterity, while his theatrical ties were deplored and suppressed. In literary histories since, Paine has been rightly shelved as a poetic inflation of eighteen hundred. His real contribution to American aesthetics as an early critic was buried in the files of newspapers of the seventeen nineties and early eighteen-hundreds.

By an irony in the story of American taste, it was a German dramatist whose plays triumphed in the Boston theater during its first decade. August von Kotzebue, who became a craze and an inescapable part of Paine's career, has long since been demoted from an idol to an easy target, his countrymen quite properly leading the attack. But many New Englanders by the end of the eighteenth century believed that he was another Shakespeare. American fears of foreign influence from the stage were complicated by this paradoxical enthusiasm for the dramas of a mediocre representative of European accomplishment. The vogue had, we suggest, repercussions in the attitudes of New Englanders toward the American theater and toward German literature. This international episode in the history of taste may also have affected developments in native dramatic literature and in critical thought.

We have relied heavily on the unpublished Paine papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Material was also found in the Harvard College Library, the Boston Public Library, the Boston Athenæum, the Huntington Library, and the Library of Congress. A stay in New England, made possible by a Ford Faculty Fellowship, helped us with this study. We remember with pleasure our debts to Professer Heinrich Schneider of Harvard University, Professor Arthur Colby Sprague of Bryn Mawr College, Dr. Walter M. Whitehill of the Boston Athenæum, Dr. Stephen T. Riley of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Miss Muriel Spaulding of the Library of the University of California, Davis.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

AA	*American Apollo*	*MHS*	Massachusetts Historical Society
BG	*Boston Gazette*	*MM*	*Massachusetts Mercury*
BT	*Boston Times*	*O*	*Ordeal*
CC	*Columbian Centinel*	*Poly*	*Polyanthos*
E	*Emerald*	*RG*	*Russell's Gazette*
FO	*Federal Orrery*		

(The heavily used italics and capitalization of full words in eighteenth-century newspapers and magazines have been omitted in citations to facilitate reading.)

I

The Critic as Champion

Playgoing was fashionable in Boston for some time before it was legal. In 1793 came the first prospects of a real theater. Those Bostonians who preferred the sure pleasures of this world to the promised bliss of the next wanted plays as well as sermons in their lives. They welcomed the news of the committee formed to build the long awaited theater. The fact that the stern prohibition of dramatic amusements as tending "generally to increase immorality, impiety, and a contempt of religion" had not yet been erased from the statutes of Massachusetts did not spoil their enthusiasm.[1] These worldly minded citizens had already managed to skirt the law.

Since 1792 five hundred people at a time had been willing to increase immorality and impiety by going to the Exhibition Hall, a theater in thin disguise located in Board Alley. There they heard what were advertised as moral lectures in five parts and were actually plays under a pseudonym of virtue. Those who went to these uplifting affairs—and some who stayed away—knew that the lectures were pieces like *Romeo and Juliet*, *Venice Preserved*, *Inkle and Yarico*, *The Contrast*, and *The West Indian*.

Such defiant enjoyment had not, however, escaped the vigilant guardians of local morals. On 5 December 1792 Justices Greenleaf and Barrett sent Sheriff Jerry Allen to make arrests in Board Alley. Mr. and Mrs. Morris were acting in *The School for Scandal* when the sheriff stamped in. A laughing audience, suddenly interrupted in its pleasure at the witty incompatibility of Sir Peter and Lady Teazle, became an angry one. Rudely jerked back from eighteenth-century London to Boston, they challenged the force represented by the sheriff. The arms of the state were torn down. Governor Hancock's portrait was trampled. The play-

[1] The prohibitive law was not cancelled until 1797.

loving rebels were finally quieted by a few words from the manager of the company and from Judge Tudor, whose own weakness for the theater was betrayed by his presence in the audience.[2]

The sheriff's intrusion in Board Alley seemed to encourage patronage. Several of the most respectable citizens began to calculate that a playhouse might be the "Deville's Chapelle" to strict moralists, but might also, to more liberal thinkers, be a sound investment. A joint stock company was formed to erect a theater which was to boast stage lights and chandeliers imported from London and "a projecting arcade" enabling "carriages to land company under cover."[3]

Perhaps no one in the city was happier at the news that the theater was under way than young Robert Treat Paine.[4] He crowed: "The Vandal-Spirit of Puritanism is prostrate in New England."[5] The nineteen-year-old versifier, who felt triumph in the plans for the Federal Street Theater, was to discover that the spirit of Puritanism was only momentarily prostrate and far from extinction. In a lifelong devotion to the drama he was to meet that spirit again. Even seventy years later, when Henry James went to see *Fanchon the Cricket*, he too found the "half-buried Puritan curse" still shadowing the Boston audience.[6]

By 1793 Paine had already declared himself as champion of the theater. He was yet to become New England's first dramatic critic, to fight the enemies without, who wanted to exterminate the drama and the theater, and those within the theater itself, mediocre playwrights, feeble actors, and rowdy audiences. Having battled in print for the very existence of a stage in his city, Paine was to become closely linked with the opening history of that stage and, through it, with the theatrical and dramatic history of America. To the ephemeral art of acting he tried to give a few lasting records.

Paine's brief life epitomizes the accomplishments and failures of others who worked in the same direction. He richly satisfied the seers who prophesied dire influence from the theater. His career was to be turned

[2] Joseph Tinker Buckingham described the sheriff's visit in "Dramatic Reminiscences," *The New England Magazine* (series 2, 1832), II. 368.

[3] Detailed description of theater in *FO*, 10 November 1794.

[4] Paine was christened Thomas. His elder brother Robert Treat, Jr. died in 1801. In 1803 he petitioned to take the brother's name and officially became Robert Treat Paine, junior. To avoid unnecessary confusion we consistently refer to him by the latter name. See *Names Changed in Massachusetts*, 1892 (Boston, 1893), 11.

[5] Thomas O. Selfridge, *The Works in Verse and Prose of the Late Robert Treat Paine, Jr.* (Boston, 1812), lxxi.

[6] Leon Edel, *Henry James, The Untried Years* (Philadelphia, 1953), 199.

into a kind of morality play worthy of the advertisements in Board Alley. Twenty years after his death he was considered a "victim of his own folly and vices," ruined by "indolence and the theater, wine and women." Even William Dunlap, playwright, manager, and stage historian, lamented that Paine's "connexion with a theatre was a source of evil to him." By 1891 Paine was named "the first American journalist to go to the devil, allured by the limelight of the stage."[7] More recently he has been accused of belonging to and representing the conservative Boston world at the turn of the nineteenth century.[8] This seems to ignore the fact that he was cast out of that world for heresy to its conventions and that he was a challenging critic of his cultural milieu.

His contemporaries, eager to have a poet in their midst, thought Paine's verses must be first-rate, and paid him handsomely for them. His early theatrical leanings were sometimes forgiven as a foible in a potential American Alexander Pope who might settle down and summon his Muse on appropriate occasions. Since Paine was witty and well connected and since few other candidates came forward in the neighborhood, he was nominated as a genius. As biased as the verdicts of the post-mortem moralizers, these judgments have also been denied. In excavations and reconstructions of the American Parnassus, Paine as poet has been swiftly and justly demoted to the level of historical interest only.[9]

Eulogy and damnation for the least significant part of his writing is but one irony in Paine's course through fame and oblivion. He cannot neatly be deposited in the categories of representative sinner, victim, or versifier. He created sufficient ironies of his own as a champion of native dramatic literature who encountered the popular German playwright Kotzebue. Paine did lack control of his various talents and did miss achievement, except in his dedication to one cause. When he was dying he struggled to the theater, and when he was alive he wrote well about it. John Bernard, who acted with John Kemble and hobnobbed with

[7] William Allen, *American Biographical and Historical Dictionary* (Boston, 1832), 630; William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832), 133; George O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre* (1792-1797) (Philadelphia, 1891), 233.

[8] Paine was granted a generous number of pages in V. L. Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought* (New York, 1930), II. 288–295, under "the Tie-Wig School." See also Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), 62.

[9] For a careful treatment of his poetry and the influences upon it, with additions to those available in *The Works,* see Ruth Thorndike Clough, "A Study of the Life and Works of Robert Treat Paine, Jr.," unpublished University of Maine M.A. thesis, 1930.

Sheridan before coming to Boston as comedian and manager, said that Paine's dramatic writings were "the oracles of the day," that whenever a play "went off, the audience felt the flash, and Paine made the report."[1] On his way to the devil Paine became a critic. And real critics were somewhat rarer than imaginary devils in New England at the time.

Improving American acting, encouraging native playwrights, and keeping audiences within bounds were part of Paine's larger aim of establishing a vigorous theater. This aim was rooted in his belief that America had great possibilities for developing an independent and forcible cultural tradition through the drama. While he was active, a few homebred plays were performed in the Boston theater. Despite Paine's efforts in their behalf, they were brave as attempts and abortive as art. Among the British represented were Shakespeare, Sheridan, the Colmans, Cumberland, Mrs. Inchbald, Holcroft, Morton, and Mrs. Centlivre. *George Barnwell* became a habit.

Into the midst of these American experiments and imports from England made during Paine's career as critic came the sensationally successful works of August von Kotzebue. Bostonians flocked to his plays and compared him to Shakespeare. What little they did see of Goethe's work on the stage left no such profound impression as did *The Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, or *Pizarro*. This may seem a perverse lack of conformity to the literary hierarchy acceptable a century and a half later. The craze may have discouraged and adversely affected the work of local playwrights. But it is part of New England's cultural history. One of their first popular impressions of German life came to Bostonians through their tears at Kotzebue's plays. Those in the audience who had read any of the American editions and imitations of *The Sorrows of Werther* were well prepared to enjoy this new medium of feeling and pleasurable suffering.[2]

Before the hero of *The Stranger* ever took a volume of Zimmermann from his pocket in scene one, or Baron Wildenhaim in *Lovers' Vows* delighted Boston audiences by tardily marrying his son's mother, there had been premonitory clues to the Kotzebue episode in the history of taste. On the same page with the *Columbian Centinel* advertisement for the first night of the new theater came a local bookseller's announcement of both Zimmermann's *Solitude*, translated from the French version of J. B. Mer-

[1] *Retrospections of America*, 1797–1811, ed. Mrs. Bayle Bernard, with introduction, notes, and index by Lawrence Hutton and Brander Matthews (New York, 1887), 292. Contemporary account of Bernard in *Poly.* (April 1806), 1–13.

[2] James D. Hart on "The Power of Sympathy," *The Popular Book* (New York, 1950), 61ff.

cier, and the fourth "and most important" volume of the life of Baron Frederick Trenck, whose exploits were already known in Massachusetts.[3] A "Mentor" soon linked his suspicion of foreign modes and of the stage in one ominous anxiety in rhyme:

> If foreign brogues, and foreign manners, strive
> Your speech to dictate and the *ton* to give;
> If alien vices, here unknown before,
> Come, shameless, to pollute Columbia's shore . . .[4]

Certain basic fears and conflicts in the New England mind were coming into the open with the building of the playhouse.

The theater started 3 February 1794 with the politically appealing play, *Gustavus Vasa*. Of all the poems written in Boston for and against the historic occasion, Paine's was chosen as the most felicitous commemoration. His prologue was delivered to an audience which had great expectations. They saw for the first time the lilac- and straw-colored columns and the arms of the Union and of Massachusetts intertwined with tragic and comic emblems. Many of those spectators knew that the precocious author of the prize prologue was the gifted though troublesome son of Robert Treat Paine, signer of the Declaration of Independence, member of the Continental Congress, and Attorney General of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.[5] Before writing his prologue, the younger Paine had already caught public attention.

Born in Taunton in 1773, he was a year old when his father left for the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. His mother's anxious letters to her distinguished husband suggest that Paine was a lively but ailing child. On 11 February 1774 she reproached the congressman: "I expected you would have inquired after your children welfare before this time but I believe you have forgotten them as well as me but I hope when you have your second wife you not forget her" [*sic*].[6] During the next year the Revolutionary guns could be heard firing near Taunton. Sally

[3] *CC*, 1 February 1794. Zimmermann described as "Counsellor and Physician to his Britannic Majesty at Hanover." Cf. Harold S. Jantz, "German Thought and Literature in New England," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (1942), XLI. 28.

[4] *CC*, 12 February 1794.

[5] The material on Paine's early life is based on the unpublished letters and diaries contained in the "Paine Papers" in possession of The Massachusetts Historical Society (accession, 1940). All citations from letters refer to this collection, unless otherwise indicated.

[6] Ms. letter of 28 February 1774.

Paine would have fled from "the noyse of cannon . . . were it not for the small pox."[7] In October of 1775 her husband was still absent in the cause of the new nation. By the time Paine was seven, the family moved to Boston to a house at the corner of Milk and Federal Streets. Enrolled in the Latin School, the boy soon led his class.

Entering Harvard in 1788, he became both famous and notorious before he was graduated. In his sophomore year he wrote his parents that a change in roommates might help him to be "virtuous, studious, & wise" and "prohibit idlers from my room."[8] The letters sent home swell with eighteenth-century school rhetoric and lack Sally Paine's Yankee directness. But they also suggest a sinewy mind later to be applied to more important matters than undergraduate escapades. Faced with explaining his quarter-bills to Judge Paine, Robert Treat offered the flimsy notion that the sizing-account books were "very incorrectly kept." With a flash of insight, he knew he was not deceiving his parent. "As the groundwork of this excuse is a bare supposition, the superstructure may possibly be considered as deficient in strength."[9]

In the fall of Paine's senior year he was in serious trouble with the authorities. His conscientious brother, who was "ever mindfull of the rapid flight of time" kept a neat diary.[1] The brother's jottings, after a visit to Harvard in September 1791, reveal Paine as college poet, orator, and social lion:

> rode to Camb: with Sally Coll:
> Exhibition—company at Thos room & chapel
> much crowded—. . . . took tea with many others
> at Thos. chambs. & went to a ball in eve:. . . .
> Thos delivered a Poem on progress
> of civilization & manners.

The progress of civilization could not save him on 16 November 1791, when the popular student "was detained at the College, by the Government, till near sunsett" while they inquired "into some late irregular and very culpable conduct of his." Although the Government apologized to Judge Paine for keeping one of his children from the family Thanksgiving dinner, the officials had concluded that a suspension of four months was in order for an undergraduate who showed "very great negligence"

[7] Ms. letter of 12 July 1775.

[8] Ms. letter from Cambridge, 2 June 1790.

[9] Ms. letter from Hollis Hall, 29 December 1790.

[1] The diary runs from 1785 to 1791.

in attending classes.[2] On 23 November the diary-keeping brother succinctly recorded the episode: "rode to Camb. with Thos. for his clothes."[3] The senior, who rode home with his clothes and his helpful brother, addressed his father on the subject before he left college. Fear ran through his letter. Young Paine saw himself melodramatically as a figure of guilt and ruin, forever expelled from society and parental grace. Envisioning a black future, he announced that he must become an exile from America.[4]

Bridgewater was settled upon as a sufficiently remote place for penitence. In this anticlimax the desperate letter writer was deposited with the Reverend Zedekiah Sanger. As part of the sobering process, the disgraced student was to pay a "special Regard to the Mathematics." Removed from his gay life at Harvard, Paine concentrated firmly, if unwillingly, on "Trigonometry, right Angles & Oblique, & upon Navigation." He made a favorable impression on Sanger, who decided, either as a result of Paine's charm or his scholarly devotion, that he had in his house a remarkable young man, "capable of Improvement, & of doing Honour to himself & his Connections."[5]

Sanger's pupil was anxious to return to college. The reason he gave to his father was that the philosophical lectures would begin in early spring and "to lose these would be to lose a very valuable part of my education."[6] The rustication was finally ended, and Paine returned in time to deliver the commencement poem for his class, "The Nature and Progress of Liberty," on 15 July 1792. In the struggle for a theater he was soon to meet a live problem to which he could apply his ideas of freedom.

Paine left Harvard with more knowledge than the oblique angles he had conned during his exile in Bridgewater. He had done some reading in spite of his literary teas, exploring in eighteenth-century English criticism via Johnson's *Lives*, Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism*, and Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Russell's *Modern Europe*, the plays of Euripides, and Dodsley's collection of English plays were others on his list.[7] Here was partial equipment for his later critical work. He was also to sharpen his theories through backstage experience.

During the same month that the Board Alley players were giving their

[2] Ms. letter by Joseph Willard from Cambridge, 18 November 1791. Also Faculty Records in Harvard Archives.

[3] Ms. diary, 23 November 1791.

[4] Ms. letter from Harvard, November 1791, addressed to Paine, senior, at Worcester.

[5] Letters from Sanger, 27 February and 17 March 1792.

[6] Plea in ms. letter from Bridgewater, 27 February 1792.

[7] Library Charging Lists for 1790, 1791, 1792 in Harvard Archives.

early performances, in August of 1792, Judge Paine was making plans for his son's future. A conversation with a Boston merchant, James Tisdale, resulted in young Paine's being taken as an apprentice for three years. Perhaps knowing of the boy's college activities, Tisdale cautiously suggested a "tryal for three months." The new apprentice wrote poetry in the store, violating Tisdale's demand that his helper "strictly observe the Rules of my Store, by being attentive to Business from Sunrise to Sunset."[8] After a brief period of this routine from sunrise to sunset, Paine was sent to the bank with a check for five hundred dollars. The errand stretched into a disappearance for a week. He was visiting literary friends in Cambridge, where he talked of poetry and the prospects of America. The money was safely deposited after the delay, but Paine's career in dry goods was over. At least he had acquired direct experience for his later writing on that other erring apprentice, George Barnwell.

It was a short distance from his father's house to the Board Alley Exhibition Hall, where Paine saw his first plays. While composing in Tisdale's store, he had adopted the signature of Menander, diverting himself by contributing poetry both to *The Massachusetts Magazine* and to *The Columbian Centinel*.[9] When legal action was taken against the Board Alley players and audiences, Menander found a contemporary challenge for his writing.

Bostonians for and against the theater were submitting heated articles to the papers. Paine chose as his target in the controversy a "Friend of Peace," who wrote for *The Independent Chronicle*, a paper which was strongly anti-theatrical in its policy.[1] Fired by an issue which he saw as belonging to the principles of free government and the privileges of individual citizens, Paine disburdened himself of some of the rhetorical devices which marred his poetry, and wrote with force and tension. On 19 December 1792, two weeks after the sheriff's visit to Board Alley, Paine's first volley was sent to the powerful *Columbian Centinel*. He questioned the justice of a law which deprived a peace-loving minority of its rights. He articulated the convictions and feelings of "those citizens of Boston, who from a cool and deliberate opinion that the law prohibiting theatrical exhibitions is unconstitutional, have attended the exhibitions

[8] Ms. letter from Tisdale to Paine, senior, 21 August 1792.

[9] Joseph T. Buckingham in *Specimens of Newspaper Reminiscences* (Boston, 1850), II. 148, identifies Paine as Menander. See also Charles Prentiss in *Works of Robert Treat Paine* (Boston, 1812), XXX.

[1] "A Friend to Peace" was probably Benjamin Austin, who wrote for *The Independent Chronicle* under various names. Cf. Buckingham, "Dramatic Reminiscences," *New England Magazine* (March 1832), II. 223.

in Board-Alley." Challenging the long domination of New England life by the spirit of the Puritan titans, he announced:

> The friends of the Theatre in Boston have publickly contravened an act of the legislature, which they do not consider as the law of the land; they have not clouded the regular and constitutional discussion of the point; they have not betrayed a consciousness of doing wrong, by shrouding themselves in secrecy; they have not fled from the vengeance of the government which they had provoked; they have not shrunk from beneath the gigantic arm, which has been raised in "attitude to smite" against them; but an invitation to become necessary to a prosecution against themselves; a request that they would call the thunders of the government down upon their own heads, may excite their derision, but will not probably influence their conduct.[2]

At the end of the same week, on 22 December, Paine again filled several columns on the front page of *The Centinel*. He reminded the opponents of the drama that their claims to pious and upright procedure had resulted in one of the most unpleasant scenes ever to take place in the city. On 7 December, two nights after *The School for Scandal* had been stopped in performance, "a number of people were unlawfully collected, with the professed intention of pulling down the building where the performances had been exhibited." The enforcers of the laws of eighteenth-century Boston appear in a grim light in Paine's accusation that the mob waiting to destroy the theater "declared they had the express permission of the Chief Magistrate to put their design in execution . . . and this permission it is said was given at his own house, where they went in a body to request it." Rabble-rousing on the part of authority itself in an attempt to make the mob an accomplice was a disturbing indication of the lengths to which the opposition might move to achieve its ends. Paine immediately recognized and exposed the danger.

His arguments left many people unmoved. Antagonists persisted in viewing the theater as a fatal stimulus to the dissolution of national character. The international disgrace of America and the scorn to come from "foreigners" were predicted as a direct result of a theater in Boston.[3] The fact that other cities had earlier fallen only increased Boston's natural responsibility to stand superior to the deterioration elsewhere in the country. Strong in prejudice and vehement in expression, the Jeremy Colliers of the town were never completely silenced during Paine's life-

[2] *CC*, 19 December 1792 and 22 December 1792. Another series of articles in the same paper (1792) advocated the repeal of the statute against stage plays.

[3] *Independent Chronicle*, 24 November 1791, in clippings in Harvard Theatre Collection.

time. And after his death fervent warnings were still being issued that "temptation . . . death . . . ruin and everlasting woe" lurked in the playhouse.[4] Despite such deep-rooted enmity, a sufficient number of people, urged on by writers like Paine, at the end of 1793 cheerfully ran the risk of perdition.

Shortly before the opening night, the rising excitement of enthusiasts for the drama and the nervous curiosity of others threatened civic peace. A writer in *The American Apollo* worried over the possibility that the first ticket sale might turn into a mob scene. Proudly stating that the citizens of Boston were "as decorous as any people in the world," he was forced to admit that "the novelty of the occasion may overcome nicer considerations of delicacy, and produce a degree of contention, which on every account, ought to be avoided."[5]

Meanwhile the censors who were to award the gold medal for the prize prologue had unanimously voted Paine's as best in the competition. Public announcements made extravagant claims for its merits. After it had been delivered from the stage on the opening night, Paine was lavishly admired. The prologue did show a vaulting faith in the drama as a cultural medium and in America's future expressions in that form. These beguiling hopes were heavily embroidered with abstractions and verbose allusions to classical grandeur:

> And now, Thou Dome, by Freedom's patrons reared,
> With Beauty blazoned, and by Taste revered;
> Apollo consecrates thy walls profane,—
> Hence be thou sacred to the Muses reign!
> In Thee, three ages in one shall conspire;
> A Sophocles shall sweep his lofty lyre;
> A Terence rise, in chariest charms serene;
> A Sheridan display the polished scene.[6]

An opponent of the drama, and of Paine as its special champion, was nettled by these flaring sentiments and parodied:

> If from this Dome the dire contagion spread;
> And Blushing Virtue hide her drooping head:
> O may the lightning rend these "walls prophane,"
> And Desolation o'er their ruins reign![7]

[4] Robert Turnbull, *The Theatre in its Influence upon Literature, Morals, and Religion* (Boston, 1839), 109–110.

[5] *AA*, 30 January 1794, III. 18.

[6] Prologue in *Works*, ed. Prentiss, 159–160.

[7] *CC*, 12 February 1794.

This mock prologue was only one of a series of ink-splashing feuds which engaged Paine throughout his dramatic activities. But in this, as in later literary alarms and excursions, he had allies. Three days after the parody appeared, came an awkward rhymed protest by an admirer of Robert Treat's who called himself "Henry":

> Shall then the rigid critic's wrinkled brow
> Bid thee no more thy ardent hopes avow,
> And damp the rising glow with chilling fear?
> Not so great Youth! while these gay scenes you rove.[8]

Henry, like Paine's more gifted supporters, may never have realized that his hero roved best in prose. Imitative and inflated in his verse, Paine was original and courageous in his writings on the theater. As essayist in the cause of the drama he had already worked with liveliness and effect. He had scored against the enemies of the theater, even if he had not muffled them. Dedicated with visions of a golden age of drama in Massachusetts, the Dome was built and the "dire contagion" of playgoing was spreading in Boston.

II

In Search of American Drama

During the first season Paine took a decisive step away from the world of the Signer and into that of the theater. He became dazzled by an Ophelia whose parents played the Ghost and the Queen. This Shakespearean family trio had come as unknown hopefuls from England to join the Boston company. Other characters performed by Eliza Baker, the Ophelia, indicate the repertoire as well as the plays Paine watched most closely in the earliest days of the new theater. Among her parts were Betty in *A Bold Stroke for a Wife,* Leonora in *The Mourning Bride,* Jenny in *The Road to Ruin,* Miss Neville in *She Stoops to Conquer,* Isabinda in *The Busybody,* Mrs. Cockletop in *Modern Antiques,* Anna in *Douglas,* Trusty in *The Clandestine Marriage,* Julia in *The Midnight Hour,* and Erixene in *The Grecian Daughter.* As to Eliza Baker's acting, it is safer to turn to some one other than the Judge's infatuated son. The flabbiness of typical theatrical commentary of the period is in an account of her role in *Hamlet:* ". . . she exhibited the simplicity of artless nature with so happy an effect, that many a tear, unasked stole down the cheek of beauty, and the manly bosom beat with an involuntary sigh . . ."[9]

[8] Henry's defense in *CC,* 15 February 1794.

[9] *CC,* 23 April 1794.

A year after the opening of the theater, Paine married this ingénue. Judge Paine recorded the event in his diary on 22 February 1795 in one austere sentence which omitted the bride's name.[1] Behind the flat, statistical account lay an idea that a social order had been violated. His son was banished from the Milk Street mansion. Poetizing on the remote future of the American theater was one thing. Marrying into its present was another.

In the same month that an actress thus infringed upon a New England hierarchy, the intellectually cosmopolitan clergyman, William Bentley, visited Boston from Salem. He watched and described the attempts of "the friends of the Theatre" to win over the enlightened part of the opposition. Finding himself urged to a play "as they would have invited us to a Lecture from some favorite Preacher," he added: "The Clergy of Boston have not generally attended." In Bentley's *Diary* for 20 March 1795 is a telling hint of shifting attitudes and of the suspicions of the new theater as a threat to the prestige and drawing power of a dominant institution: " 'The Jew' by Cumberland, & 'Every Man has his fault,' are celebrated by our best Judges as fine pieces now upon the Boston Theatre. They feel the Compliment of a Visit to the Theatre, as Our Country Gentlemen used to receive the news of a Visit to their Minister."[2]

Before he wrote about this same Cumberland play, Paine had rejected the weakness of his fellow journalists for tear-stained cheeks, manly bosoms, and pearly tears. He began his own observations with a conviction that faults must be emphasized if the American stage were ever to "arrive at excellence." Trying to go beyond the easy methods of impressionism and eulogy, he dramatized himself as physician to the playhouse, firm to administer "a nauseous preparation instead of an article pleasing to the taste."[3] The rigor of some of his medicinal remarks shows both his own youth and that of the theater and criticism in his part of America. His divergence from the prevailing approach and mannerisms of the day already begins to be clear in the following commentary on an actress, especially when compared with that of another critic on the same actress. The column to the left, which is his, may also suggest why his theatrical writings were to bring strong reactions:

[1] Ms. Diary of Paine, senior (MHS).

[2] *Diary of William Bentley* (Salem, 1907), II. 127 and 132.

[3] *AA*, 10 and 17 April 1794.

I wish not to treat the subject ludicrously, but cannot resist the force of the figure of a falling cat whenever this lady places herself in the attitude of surprise, "spread" she appears at all points—this failing may also with a little attention soon be corrected.[4]

. . . beauty, elegance, sensibility, and genius are her attributes; her eye is the herald of her heart, and her voice vibrates on the ear like the varying strains of an Aeolian Harp, now melting with softness—now flowing with vivacity—then rising to melodious energy.[5]

By the time he became editor of his own paper, *The Federal Orrery*, in the fall of 1794, he began to realize that verbal stabbing might not be the final answer to slovenly eulogy. He knew, too, that criticism had in other parts of the world taken on stature and significance. Paine early became preoccupied with the serious role of the critic in building the longed for native culture. Though he was to have lapses from his own high aims, he was to persist in his belief in America's combined need for responsibility in critics and recognition of them by the public. As he discussed the goals and problems of criticism in *The Orrery*, he echoed stylistic quirks of *The Rambler* and ideas of Henry Home.[6] He also went deeper than did the contemporary clichés being applied to the theater. The course to be steered between effusion and hasty summary was new and difficult:

Criticism could never attach to itself either dignity or usefulness, were its professors composed but of two classes, censors and penegyrists [*sic*]. Disfranchised of the right of discriminating, they could mark no character by the appropriate blending of its lights and shades—each countenance they portrayed would exhibit but one blazon of coloring, and all its features be reduced to plain superficies. If, therefore, we should defeat the object of criticism, by unqualified censoriousness, it would be no less detrimental to indulge a vein of unlimited encomium.[7]

Addressing himself to the "Friends of Liberty and Literature," he published a prospectus for his newspaper. As editor he proposed to embrace and encourage "the arts and sciences of our own country," an aim which

[4] *Ibid.*, 10 April 1794. Paine's interest in Eliza Baker no doubt colored his judgment of Miss Harrison, who was a rival for some of the same parts.

[5] *CC*, 8 March 1794.

[6] Sir Henry Home (Lord Kames) on the "manifold . . . advantages of criticism" in *Elements of Criticism* (New York, 1866), 27–30. (The first American edition of Kames, published in Boston in 1796, reprint of 7th London edition, according to William Charvat, *Origins of American Critical Thought*, 1810-1835 [Philadelphia, 1936], 30.)

[7] *FO*, 12 November 1795.

he said "the editors of newspapers have generally sacrificed . . . to a prodigal insertion of foreign articles of trivial importance."[8] This was a rather staggering journalistic task since there were fairly few arts and sciences fully ready to be embraced. As soon as one thousand Boston citizens subscribed to his *Orrery*, he promised to begin. Paine was neither the first nor the last hopeful American talent to see journalism as a high-road to a national literature. As late as the eighteen thirties Fanny Kemble observed that "newspapers are the main literature in America." She was astonished to hear that a good newspaper connection was regarded as proof of talent:

> Besides the popularity to be obtained by it, it is often attended with no small literary consideration, and young men here with talents of a really high order, and who might achieve far better things, too often are content to accept this very mediocre mode of displaying their abilities, at very little expense of thought or study, and neglect far worthier objects of ambition and the rewards held out by a distant and permanent fame.[9]

The first number of *The Federal Orrery* appeared 20 October 1794 and predicted that the drama would not be neglected in the many fields of human endeavor to be included by the confident and ambitious editor. To keep interest alive till the new season actually opened, Paine led off with a biography of the elder Colman.[1] In November he gave an account of Mrs. Siddons. And when the theater began with *As You Like It* on 15 December, he instituted a regular department entitled "The Thespiad." The first-night performance to a crowded and excited house proved, however, to be a disappointing occasion in Boston's stage history, since Phoebe suffered from "a bad cold" and Jacques was but "feebly" supported.[2]

Still new in a new field, Paine was insisting on objectivity. The ideal seemed surer when protected by Latin: "Justitia Fiat, Si Ruat Theatrum, is the principle upon which the 'Thespiad' is conducted." Rather quickly he was caught in the problem of telling the truth without dampening "the ambition of any performer on the Boston boards." He assured the actors that damnation in *The Orrery* for feeble work did not preclude salvation for those who reformed. On the other hand, praise was no

[8] *Orrery* prospectus in *CC*, 6 September 1794.

[9] *Journal of Frances Anne Butler* (Philadelphia, 1935), I. 154–155. Eighteenth-century American newspaper files merit further study.

[1] Copied from Bell's *London Chronicle*.

[2] *FO*, December 1794, 70.

security against future attacks. In a few years of theatergoing he had concluded: " 'All the world's a stage' is a trite adage; but, 'All the men and women' are *not* 'players.' "[3]

Even in his early criticism Paine added to his commentary on the theatrical representation a concern with the plays themselves. After watching the popular drama, *The Jew*, he praised Cumberland's observance of the unities, betraying his own reliance on earlier critical precepts from abroad which were having late echoes in America. He carefully placed the drama in the shifting territory between the familiar genres, explaining that it was the form "which the French term 'Comédie larmoyante.' It is a species of composition, neither comic, nor tragic; but a mixture of both. Its scenes possess the humor of the one, and the pathos of the other. Like Tragedy, it ameliorates the heart, by touching the tenderest passions; but, like Comedy, it chills not the soul, by the horrors of bloodshed."[4] Kotzebue's exploits in this very form, his "comédies larmoyantes," were five years in the offing for the Boston theatergoers.

Attacking the language of Jones's tragedy, *The Earl of Essex*, as "too bloated," Paine suggested that English subject matter and methods in the drama were not completely acceptable to American audiences: "The intrigues of Queen Elizabeth are wholly uninteresting to Americans."[5] He was not forgetting his assurances of support to the arts in America. Mrs. Inchbald's comedy, *Such Things Are*, was advertised in Boston as having received universal applause in London during a record run of sixty-three successive nights. This British stamp of approval left Paine unimpressed. He felt that an American audience had been duped by false publicity, that the import was not worth its cost. "The story seems to have been imported with very high custom-house charges—thirty-three and one third for the difference of currency, and twenty-five per cent for freight and primage! After paying these immense expenses, it would be highly ungenerous to condemn it, as contraband goods: but—'Such things are'!"[6] Paine charged Mrs. Inchbald with having borrowed Sir Luke and Lady Tremor from Sir Peter and Lady Teazle, and with having failed to give depth or luminosity to her major characterizations.

Steadily opposing the lazy and uncritical acceptance by Americans of poor English plays and trying to stimulate the appearance of native dramas, the editor prodded Bostonians into supporting American attempts

[3] *FO*, 29 December 1794, 82.
[4] *FO*, 22 December 1794, 74–75.
[5] *FO*, 29 December 1794, 82.
[6] *FO*, 8 January 1795, 94.

with full houses. When *The Medium; or, Happy Tea-Party,* "written by a Citizen of the United States," was announced, *The Orrery* ran a plea for a "brilliant audience to decide upon the merit of the first dramatic adventurer in this metropolis" and for the "applause, to which they are undoubtedly entitled."[7]

A reader of *The Federal Orrery,* possessed of the same hopes for the American drama as was Paine, and impressed with the latter as a man who could take action on these problems, composed an appeal signed "Dramaticus." He suggested that "the most plausible argument . . . offered in favor of a theatre, was the encouragement of American genius." Dramaticus accused the manager, Powell, of ignoring "a latent vein of genius" in America, of having asserted that "the genius of the United States combined . . . would not be worth a Benefit-Night." Powell's brother was rumored to have said that "good acting in Boston, was pearls, cast before swine!" Dramaticus further claimed that playwrights were being stifled locally:

> His [the manager's] positive refusal to grant any emolument whatever to *any* author, however successful in the run of his production, will effectually extinguish the ambition of our writers. For whom have we, possessed of such property, leisure, inclination, and talents, as to attempt a dramatic composition, without any prospect, but pennyless fame?[8]

"A gentleman of Vermont," and no less a figure in the American drama than Royall Tyler, whose comedy, *The Contrast,* had been one of the plays presented in Board Alley, published "An Occasional Address" in *The Orrery.* His verses expressed the hopes of the playwright and of men like Paine. The political triumph needed to be enriched by cultural victories:

> I view those glorious days,
> When native Powells act our native lays.
> When bards shall carol on our river's side,
> And Charles shall rival British Avon's pride.
> Columbian Shakespeares, paint the poet's dreams,
> And Yankee Garricks act the glowing scenes,
> Till vanquish'd Britain, aw'd by our success,
> In arts as arms our triumph shall confess.[9]

[7] *The Medium* played 2 March 1795. *Orrery* notice, 2 March 1795, 155.

[8] *FO,* 25 May 1795.

[9] The address is an extension of an earlier signed version, which was employed as a prologue to *The Mistakes of a Night; or, She Stoops to Conquer.* The later version was "intended to have been spoken by Colonel J. S. TYLER, at the opening of

Paine's own *Observations on the American Theatre,* which appeared in February of 1796, focused on this contemporary concern for developing Yankee Shakespeares and Garricks. Undeceived by prevailing notions of material progress, he worried that Americans were heedlessly thwarting their talented youth by forcing them into the more reputable professions, not only by failing to reward playwrights but by frowning upon them. In Paine's eyes, the economic and social system developing in America by the end of the eighteenth century was eliminating the very individuals who might "cover themselves and their country with immortal honor." Perhaps remembering his own weeks in James Tisdale's store, he wrote:

> Among the great multitudes of young gentlemen of education, who are every year flocking into the professions, it cannot but be supposed that many of them are possessed of the finest genius for dramatic as well as any other species of writing; but having no opportunity for displaying itself in the dull drudgery of professional business the precious talent is condemned to remain in eternal oblivion.

Regretfully facing the fact that the American stage "for a considerable length of time must be chiefly furnished with authors and actors from abroad," Paine warned the public that "without the assurance of some emolument resulting from the exertion of real genius, it cannot be expected that any American dramas should make their appearance."

There is possibly no stronger expression in America's early critical writings of the significance of the drama and of society's debt to its artists than that contained in Paine's remarks on dramatic composition and the obstacles to its progress:

> As genius must be exercised in such a variety of ways in the composition of a good play (which has justly been considered as the literary *chef d'oeuvre* of the human mind) the soul must be so wholly engaged in the undertaking, as in a manner to exclude all other concerns; and without which undivided attention, a good piece can hardly ever be produced. As a *decent* play is not the work of a day, a week, or a month, the almost total abstraction, which a necessary attention thereto requires, from all other affairs renders it extremely evident, that the enlivening prospect of reward, as well as honor, should be held forth to writers of genius, as a powerful incentive to exertion.

He had a few special words for any Bostonians who might look on playwriting as a flighty pursuit. Of them he asked one question and, in asking, reiterated the moral values of the drama itself, thus revealing his eight-

the Boston Theatre" for the season of 1795-1796. Address quoted in *FO*, 9 November 1795, 22.

eenth-century reading and his awareness of persistent issues involving collisions between morality and aesthetics:

> And why should not such an employment of real genius be considered one of the most noble methods of serving our country? A writer who exerts his talents in shaming vice and folly out of countenance, by the satirical strokes of comedy, or in softening the heart to humanity, and awakening the virtuous affections, by the tender and solemn scenes of tragedy, is certainly one of the most useful men in society. . . .[1]

Paine was not alone in his desperate overworking of the word "genius," in his challenge of the utilitarian constrictions on a national culture, or in his dream of America's achievement of literary independence. In the "Dramatic Mirror" of *The Massachusetts Mercury* came the same exhortations: "Let not every dull foreigner impose himself on the public, in expectancy of duping their judgment. Let us respect ourselves, and we shall command veneration."[2] And the plea for recognition of a native drama was to continue a live issue in Boston. *Russell's Gazette* in 1800 printed a typical grumble: "We have neither seen nor heard of an American play. Had we not writers, it would be no wonder—we have; and I cannot believe we are indifferent to our fame."[3]

Among numerous writers with a fervent sense of literary patriotism, Paine distinguished himself by his awareness that the problem was inherently complex and that it was quality and not every near facsimile which was to be encouraged. Despite his hope for a national drama, he knew that any literary try labelled American was not inevitably great. Crude blasts of nationalism would not be enough to form a dramatic tradition. Blandness or overenthusiasm about indigenous offerings could bring ludicrous results.

Paine's own conflicting longing to encourage the struggles for a native tradition and simultaneously to set high standards helped put him into battle over an American play. A contradiction was growing which would make for awkward situations—literary hopes and ideals versus the reality offered for critical judgment. In March of 1796 came the announcement in *The Federal Orrery* that a new comedy by "a citizen of Boston" was in rehearsal. As a homegrown drama it attracted "a full and expecting audience." The author had managed to cram the play with material calculated to hit the public taste. One first-nighter wrote that

[1] *FO*, 1 February 1796, 118.
[2] *MM*, 11 March 1796.
[3] *RG*, 9 January 1800.

"the frequent allusions to Washington, Liberty, &c. were received with loud huzzas, from the whole auditory" and predicted a good future for the piece.[4] Paine, as a more critical member of the same audience, was undeceived. He saw that the play was native, but too weak an answer to the cultural plea. Maintaining his critical senses in face of an uncritical outburst of local pride, he pointed to numerous flaws in *The Traveller Returned*. Contrary to the eulogists he declared that the New England piece was marked by "the tedium of uninteresting solemnity." This gangling and overserious production could not safely be taken as the apotheosis of American comedy, since no amount of patriotic rant was a substitute for wit or grace in writing. Said Paine, "a prudent use of the pruning knife" would better "the soliloquies and many of the national ebullitions." Patriotic sentiments, he admitted, were "congenial" to American playgoers, but he warned against a "surfeit of even the most sumptuous entertainment."[5]

In *The Traveller Returned* the audience had been wooed immediately with references to "native air" and to "such a race of heroes, as Rome, in all her pride of greatness, could never boast."[6] The author, Judith Sargent Murray, had remained anonymous. Immediately after the appearance of the unhappy truths Paine had written, came a wistful unsigned note referring to him as "a gentleman, so critical" and implying that a kind public would judge his charges and find them wanting. Paine's rejoinder was brief: " 'Nil de mortuis nisi bonum' is an ancient maxim of philosophic humanity; and the Editor hopes he shall not flagrantly offend against the Latin idiom, should he translate it—Damn not a play, which has gone to 'that bourne whence no Traveller Returns!!!' "[7] Meanwhile the first-night enthusiasm had died off, indicating the momentary triumph of good taste or inertia among the theatergoers of 1796, the incipient power of Paine as a critic, and the ephemeral quality of the play itself. Answering accusations made against him in *The Columbian Centinel*, Paine said that the author's dialogue had "carefully excluded every species of colloquial ease" and the comedy was filled with "turgid phrases, Stale Hibernianisms, filched ribaldry, and forced conceits, without one single solitary Spark of wit, to cheer, with a momentary Twinkle, the immense vacuum of Dullness."

The day after this epitaph appeared, another newspaper writer rushed

[4] *MM*, 11 March 1796.

[5] Paine's commentary on play in *FO*, 14, 21, 24 March 1796, 166, 175, 189.

[6] *Traveller Returned* printed in *The Gleaner*, III. (February 1798), Act I, 116–117.

[7] J. S. Murray's note in *FO*, 17 March 1796, 171.

to defend the author and to challenge Paine. Sex, or at least chivalry, had become involved: "You will know the subject of your scurrilous Abuse in your Paper of yesterday, will never quicken your pace in State-Street, or any other Street, by Cane or Pistol."[8] Before it came to canes or pistols in the streets of Boston, the play died a natural death. Paine, in his final statement, "felt no pleasure in being a Pallbearer at its interment, nor in dancing over the grave of the poor unfortunate." The editor had refused to tolerate mediocrity which came in the guise of his own hopes.

Paine's preoccupation with a national drama might be summarized as a reiterated advertisement issued by him as editor: Wanted—American playwrights. *The Orrery* was also concerned with other issues in American life.[9] Its Federalism consumed many pages and highly colored the political news of foreign and local developments. There were columns of poetry and innumerable lesser items which are revealing as to the intellectual activities of the seventeen nineties. In three numbers, beginning 30 October 1794, a J. S. Capt of Geneva, under a heading "French and German languages," offered his services as a teacher. In the light of twentieth-century questions concerning the knowledge of foreign languages in New England before 1800, one wonders how talented a linguist Mr. Capt was, how many pupils he had, if any, or if he settled, as other such teachers did, for work as a dancing or fencing master. *The Orrery* asserted that "The Languages, which Mr. Capt professes to teach (the French in particular) have become in this country, not only an ornamental, but useful accomplishment, to the Lady, the Gentleman, and the Merchant."[1]

The repeated lists in *The Orrery* of the offerings of Berry, Rogers, & Berry, booksellers, suggest that New England was slightly less limited to a knowledge of Great Britain in relation to the rest of the world than has sometimes been assumed in accounts of American cultural history. Many of these beginnings of cosmopolitanism came by way of England and were often vicarious voyages through the medium of British experi-

[8] *MM*, 22 and 25 March 1796. In *MM* Paine was called "dog of the Orrery." Third performance of play given for benefit of widows and orphans of Boston on 13 May 1796. Joseph T. Buckingham in his *Newspaper Reminiscences* (Boston, 1850), II. 243–247, discusses the controversy. See also Arthur Hobson Quinn, *History of the American Drama* (New York, 1943), 126, note 2, and Vera Bernadette Field, *Constantia, A Study of the Life and Works of Judith Sargent Murray, University of Maine Studies* (Orono, 1931), XXXIII. 7.

[9] One of the important contributors to *FO* was Joseph Dennie. See Harold Milton Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle, A Study in American Literature from 1792 to 1812, University of Texas Bulletin* (1915), 69–72.

[1] *FO*, 30 October, 6 and 10 November 1794.

ences on the Continent. In the listings during 1794, along with popular fiction and staples like *The Works of Samuel Johnson* in six volumes or Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and belles lettres*, came *L'oeuvres* [*sic*] *de Rousseau* and *Characters* [*sic*] *de Bruyere*, Cox's *Travels into Switzerland*, Benowosky's *Travels*, *The Works of Frederick II, King of Prussia* (in English and French editions), Riesbeck's *Travels through Germany*, Tower's *Memoirs of Frederick, King of Prussia*, and Mrs. Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections, made in the course of a journey through France, Italy, and Germany*.[2]

While Paine was still interested in his *Federal Orrery* and using it among other purposes as a means of attracting attention and understanding to the theater, he did more than demand American drama and dismiss poor substitutes for it. Trying to help potential American playwrights in search of a theory, he often went beyond the cauterizing of failures to offer positive clues as to the solution of structural and tonal problems. On more than one occasion he drew a distinction between situation, which was artificial and directed to the immediate laugh, and incident, which he identified with convincing development and complexity.[3] The comment on Reynolds' *Dramatist* was a reminder that a play might abound "with comic situations" and yet be wanting in real "incident and . . . interest."[4] "Complexity of plot," Paine wrote, "is generally detrimental to the effect of a drama, unless ingeniously interwoven, and clearly elucidated. To succeed in so arduous an attempt, demands an expansion of fancy, united with an acuteness of judgment." In the matter of dialogue he made numerous suggestions; he asked for "easy elegance of language," praised dialogue where "the effect, which continually rises

[2] *FO*, 4 December 1794 and subsequent issues. The next year Thomas Hall and Joseph Nancrede were advertising a French and English bookstore in *CC*, 25 July 1795. After listing items like Molière and La Fontaine, they publicly stated their purpose: ". . . to transplant—to naturalize, into fertile America, the exotic seeds of European genius; to alleviate the burthen of American writers, by presenting them with all that has been written, on the subject they contemplate—to increase their number, by removing their fears of repeating what others have said . . . to free the New World from the Moral Tyranny, which Great-Britain has exercised for ages over the minds of Americans, by shutting every Avenue to European, and especially to French Literature." Ellis identifies Nancrede as "a Frenchman, a bookseller, teacher, and editor" (*Joseph Dennie and His Circle*, 101).

[3] Henry Home emphasized "incident" in a special sense: "A play analyzed is a chain of connected facts, of which each scene makes a link. Each scene, accordingly, ought to produce some incident relative to the catastrophe or ultimate event, by advancing or retarding it. A scene that produceth no incident, and for that reason may be termed *barren*, ought not to be indulged, because it breaks the unity of action; a barren scene can never be entitled to a place, because the chain is complete without it" (*Elements of Criticism*, 459).

[4] *FO*, 29 December 1794, 82.

to the concluding sentence, is supported by all the interest of incident." Levity needed to be supported by depth and that "easy elegance" of language by a "nervous" quality or tension.[5]

Throughout his *Orrery* comments on stage problems Paine tracks the crucial means of fusing essential detail and then of transcending it to achieve a meaningful totality. He asked that a character be "dressed with good judgment," that the actor aim at "unaffected pronunciation," at "manly point" in the delivery of speeches, and that gesture and attitudes be "feelingly just." But for all this emphasis on correctness, dignity, and elegance in this early period of his theatrical criticism, he allowed for an indefinable and incalculable element which appeared in great actors and without which correctness was unavailing: "The pompous strut, and declamatory bluster, are gradually acquired with the hardihood of stage-experience;—but the effusions of genius create an effect, as immediate, as simplicity;—as irresistible, as truth." Paine lauded the actor who could entertain "without the spurious aid of mummery and trick," who could excite "the features of the audience, without distorting his own."

Acting which was perfect "in the letter of . . . [the] author" but "deficient in his spirit" was exposed. Only by uniting "a justness of conception" with the "spirit of execution" could the actor show " 'the very form and pressure' of the character." Stressing the importance of acting itself in conveying a writer's full meaning, Paine attacked lapses from a literary characterization and inconsistencies in its representation. When Mrs. Johnson appeared as Lady Townly in Vanbrugh's *Provok'd Husband* on 5 November 1795, Paine found "her most prominent excellence" to be "that she does not, like too many of her sister actresses, cease to personate, when she ceases to speak; whether speaking or addressed, she is always in character." Mr. Hamilton, who acted in the same play, was reprimanded: "When his right hand is directed towards his breast, his right leg, impelled, no doubt, by some invisible wires mechanically makes the same motion."[6]

A favorite actor was not spared if he fell short of Paine's standards, and an unknown or poor actor who improved was quickly recognized. Consistency in opinion on an individual performer often gave way to the inconsistency involved in justice. Having acclaimed Mrs. Powell as one of the best actresses on the Boston boards, the critic could yet give her severe reminders in any instance of a drop from excellence. Some of her

[5] In a discussion of Mrs. Inchbald's *Every One Has His Fault*, *FO*, 19 January 1795.

[6] Commentary on acting in *FO*, 22 December 1795, 75; 19 January 1795, 107; 5 and 12 November 1795, 18, 25, 26.

roles had been Portia, Lady Percy, Monimia in *The Orphan,* and Mrs. Beverley in *The Gamester*. She fell short as Yarico. In January of 1795 Paine felt that American stage design had added to *Inkle and Yarico* an especially impressive forest, rolling sea, horizon, cave of Yarico, and quay of Barbados. Paine called Inkle a character "which, in the theatrical vocabulary, is styled an 'uphill part.' Applauses are more commonly given to the author, than to the actor. . . ." Though Mrs. Powell's Yarico seemed successful, Paine thought she had become muddled and had applied her Shakespearean technique to a lesser role. He reminded her that the elegance of her Juliet would not do for Yarico and was "but an ill-judged substitute for that simplicity of tone and manner, which are native with the American aborigines." She had used the curling iron and powder puff, and "her artificial countenance seemed to have been painted with the same brush, that colored Barnwell's hands, after the murder of his uncle; for it evidently had more of the appearance of blood, than of copper!"[7] Versatility in acting, found in what Paine called the "universal performer," was underlined as an ideal. Any actor or actress of the period who survived a year's typical repertoire with its swift changes of program was apt to acquire this quality, if nothing else.

In several instances in *The Federal Orrery* Paine prepared in advance the reception of plays and actors, reminding Bostonians that a failure in their support would reflect on their taste. Injustices in casting and favoritism backstage are discussed in the *Orrery* columns. An irate citizen addressed Paine in the cause of correcting disturbing practices. This theatergoer objected "that the blooming village-maids, the sentimental ladies, and the toothless old grandams" all fall to one lady, while others had no chance "but, like an evergreen at Christmas, to be-sprig the windows of the stage balconies."[8] Taking up the case of Mr. Taylor, a comedian who had been omitted from roles for which the critic believed him to be admirably suited, Paine resorted to threatening the manager by predicting a "diminution of his houses." Taylor had been especially successful in the opera *The Mountaineers,* in which he conceived and displayed "to an astonished audience, the inimitable composition of Cervantes, embellished by the abilities of the younger Colman, who, with the skill of an artist, has made the happiest traits of the romance of *Don Quixote* his own."[9]

Throughout the commentary on acting runs a plea for an American who will both exemplify and transcend the principles laid down. Before

[7] *Inkle and Yarico* performance, 23 January 1795. *FO,* 26 January 1795, 114–115.
[8] *FO,* 29 January 1795, 119.
[9] *FO,* 10 April 1795.

the opening of the theater for its third season, Paine announced that the corps was "to be enriched . . . with a daughter of *Thespis* of American birth." He rejoiced in the thought that "our boards will soon be trodden, and our scenes composed, by performers and authors of our own country." Above all, he insisted that the theater was to "stimulate the dormant genius" of his own nation.[1] Whenever an American actor appeared, Paine made particular notice of the fact. He was not, however, completely free of a local identification which was sometimes stronger than his national hopes. When the New York company was in Boston in the fall of 1795, the critic complained that some of the characters played by members of that group might have been much better performed by actors and actresses who belonged to the Boston company. Despite this loyal prejudice he was keenly interested in theatrical happenings in other American cities, gathering in and reading the news from more highly developed stage centers. He also kept track of theatrical movements in England through periodicals from abroad.

Bostonians could look to him not only for penetrating opinions on the performances but for entertaining and polished statements. Paine might dismiss an actor with: "He seems to possess that mediocrity of talents, which, should it not entitle him to praise, will at least secure him from censure." An actor, grossly overdressed for his part, became "a bad picture in a handsome frame." To one who surpassed the limitations of his role Paine addressed: "To play a good part, with éclat, falls to the lot of many—but to educe brilliancy, from a dull one, is a display of theatrical chemistry."[2] Amidst the fumbling and effusive sentences about the stage, which echo through the journals of the seventeen nineties, Paine's are luminous.

By April of 1796 *The Orrery* was sold to Benjamin Sweetser. Offering his "sincerest thanks to his friends and the public" for their patronage, Paine officially gave over his editorship and turned his full attention to the playhouse, which he now found more attractive than his editorial office. Early in the same month *The Orrery* carried word that "the disposition and ability of the public to patronize the drama" had been amply proved.[3] But the trials of the Boston theater were not over.

[1] *FO*, 28 September and 5 November 1795, 391, 18.
[2] *FO*, 10 January, 5 November, 29 December 1795.
[3] *FO*, 4 April 1796, 185.

III

A Late Eighteenth-Century Audience

> What is taste?
> "There's a question!" (answers Miss Ogle, with a leer round the whole room) "—why, what do you think it should be, but to go three times a week to the theatre, and attract the attention of all the audience, and the players into the bargain, by viewing them with an opera glass from the stage box!"
>
> *Polyanthos*, Boston, 1807

In the years since the dramatic subterfuges in Board Alley, Paine had been steadily connected with the growing theater. Having fought for its acceptance, celebrated its opening, and criticized the plays and players, he was now to have an official share in its day by day activities. The realities of popular taste in drama, of stage production, and of the behavior of audiences which faced Paine in this period are germane to the conflicts over the existence, meaning, and influence of the theater in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America. Before giving up his editorship of *The Federal Orrery*, Paine was appointed Master of Ceremonies for the Boston stage. The eviction from Milk Street society had strengthened his theatrical connections.

While Paine became more entangled backstage, his father-in-law, after a stormy time with the manager, shifted from acting to less controversial and less physically perilous work, but remained loyal to his original interests by opening "an asylum of pleasure and happiness" and naming it the Shakespeare Hotel and Coffee House. Along with the best wines, he promised to have available all the newspapers of Boston for customers "fond of the speculative productions and politics of the day." The announcement for his end-of-the-season performance at the theater 30 June 1794 claimed that Baker would "make his exit through a Hogshead of real Fire." The typical triple-featured program for that evening was Murphy's *Three Weeks after Marriage; or What We Must All Come to*, Dibdin's *Waterman; or The First of August*, and Jackman's *All the World's a Stage; or The Butler in Buskins*. Between this fiery exit and his entrance into his career in business, the former Shakespearean Ghost had given a dramatic and musical olio at concert hall during which he delivered "the much admired soliloquy" of George Barnwell.[4]

In 1794 a set of rules and regulations were adopted by the trustees of the theater. In these rules the varied obligations, now fallen to Paine,

[4] *CC*, 28 June, 24 October, and 15 November 1794. By 16 December 1796 Baker was advertising another establishment in *MM*.

had been carefully set forth for public reading. The Master of Ceremonies was to keep "order and decorum," oversee the boxes, pit, and galleries, keep "ladies and gentlemen" in their rightful seats, direct the carriage traffic, and "generally to arrange the whole etiquette of auditory." He was authorized to "turn any refractory persons out of the theatre" with a careful refund. A full complement of constables as well as the trustees promised their support if the refractory insisted on seeing the last act. A reader, who dubbed himself "Yankee Doodle," wrote a newspaper letter to assure "the Master of Ceremonies, that should any indecent noise be made at the Theatre, during the exhibition, his exertions to suppress them will be universally seconded."[5]

There were chores attached to this office more delicate than those so fully outlined. Paine's predecessor had tactfully to "presume upon the politeness of the Ladies," to request that those in the boxes would attend "without hats, bonnets, feathers, or any other high headdress, that the sight of the gentlemen, who are seated behind them, may not be obstructed."[6] When the side galleries of the theater were partitioned off, it was the Master of Ceremonies who issued the news that these spaces would be "appropriated to the use of such gentlemen as wish to carry ladies into the Gallery."[7] This gallery took on significance in the controversy over the morality of the theater.

On becoming a member of the theatrical corps, Paine acquired a room in the theater. There the earlier Master of Ceremonies had sold box tickets "from nine to one o'clock, and from three to sunset, every day, excepting Sunday."[8] Paine was not equally conscientious in attending to this. Preferring the conviviality of the Boston Coffee-house on State Street, he advertised himself, in 1798, as being there every day from ten till two with "The Box-Book" and the "Box Tickets." On play dates he promised to be there "from 3 till half past 5 o'clock."[9] Seating complications arose in the spring of 1798. It was up to "Mr. Paine [to] take the precaution to give, with the Tickets, purchased for Ladies' places, a certificate, which may be retained thro' the evening, to ascertain their seats as entered on the box book." "A proper attendant" was to be placed in a strategic position to back these abstract promises with a physical presence.[1]

Early Boston audiences were far from decorous in their behavior. The

[5] *CC*, 22 and 29 January, 1794. [6] *CC*, 22 January 1794.
[7] *CC*, 26 February and 8 March 1794. [8] *AA*, 27 February 1794.
[9] *MM*, 10 August 1798. [1] *MM*, 13 April 1798.

spectators were often disorderly and occasionally violent. A noisy freedom of expression seems to have been characteristic of the playgoers from the very first season of the theater's existence. In 1794 a revealing and pathetic note came from the musicians in the theater, who had suffered the blows of an uninhibited audience. Their complaint was immediately registered:

> They entreat a generous people so far to compassionate their feelings as to prevent the thoughtless, or ill-disposed from throwing Apples, Stones, &c. into the Orchestra, that while they eat the bread of industry in a free country, it may not be tinctured with the poison of humiliation.[2]

During the first theatrical season the price of tickets for the pit was raised. Although this was publicly explained as being the result of "accumulated expense" and "variety of improvements," the Boston playgoers instantly rebelled. Paine himself wrote that "the tumult in the house, occasioned by the rise of the tickets, would have discouraged the confidence even of experienced veterans."[3]

Before he took an active role as Master of Ceremonies in keeping down disorder, Paine had attempted, as editor, to improve conditions in the theater. *The Orrery* for November 1795 warned unwary playgoers "to be on their guard against a set of pocket-lifters who have given a specimen of their abilities, in their dexterity of hand, in the pit and other parts of the theatre. These villains are strongly suspected."[4] When the play was absorbing, the pocket-lifters flourished. Paine could as vividly picture one of these enchanted audiences as he could scold the members of a turbulent one. Always conscious of the direct reflection of an actor's art in the faces of those listening and watching, he left many glimpses of engrossed spectators: "The gape of Mr. Jones, in 'Ennui,' was answered by a corresponding distortion, in the features of the whole audience. This unconscious mimicry was the sincerest tribute, that could possibly be paid to the justness of his acting."[5] A note of praise for a comparatively restrained audience at Vanbrugh's *Provok'd Husband* in 1795 suggests that hushed fascination or complete order was the exception rather than the rule: "Through the whole evening's exhibition we were happy to observe the perfect tranquility and decorum of the gallery."[6]

For some years to come Boston audiences were to be an unpredictable element. In 1804 came a complaint that "Not only cards, apples, bullets,

[2] *CC*, 22 February 1794 (see also clippings in Harvard Theatre Collection).
[3] *FO*, 18 December 1794, 71, and 29 December. [4] *FO*, 5 November 1795, 19.
[5] *FO*, 29 December 1794, 82. [6] *FO*, 12 November 1795, 25.

and stones have been scattered upon the stage, with shameful impunity; but on one evening, during the last week, a large bottle was thrown into the pit, and very seriously injured a gentleman's shoulder." Paine by then was still trying to raise the level of conduct. The revelers who interrupted the prison scene of *The Way to Get Married* he likened to "the harpies of Virgil." Mimicry of an actor and the "inebriated vulgarity" which cut off a singer brought the critic's warning that the theater was becoming a "bear-garden." "Some intemperate persons in the upper part of the house" in 1807 took to "firing off Crackers" and yelling an actor's name.[7] The Kean riot was not far in the future.

That bitter opponent of the Boston playhouse, Turnbull, claimed that prostitutes were admitted without charge or, at least, at special rates, that they "and pickpockets are among the most regular attendants, and most enthusiastic friends of the theatre."[8] And William Dunlap noted in his history of the American theater that the prostitutes had an entrance all their own in Boston's Federal Street Theater.[9]

A later theatrical comment of Paine's suggests further that the playhouse was not always clean and warm in the seventeen nineties. Observing recent improvements in 1802, he praised the managers for their attention to "the temperature of the house," and to "the Stoves . . . a very necessary part of the performance, on cold evenings." The sweepers and candle-lighters had been prodded into action. "Neatness is so scrupulously observed, that the ladies can now leave their boxes with white muslins and kidgloves, unsullied, if they are not slatternly worn; or taken from the bureau begrimed."[1]

Paine had long considered no detail of the theater beneath his notice, as in his suggestion that the Boston theater copy the new opera house in Paris and prevent the front-stage glare by lamps "behind the side-scenes." He was always quick to observe and to reprimand lapses in conduct which occurred behind the curtain. Paine railed at the offenders who made the performance of Mrs. Inchbald's *Such Things Are* in 1795 a particularly noisy affair backstage. The cool reception of the audience, he asserted, might be "justly attributed to the passionate stamp and abusive language repeatedly heard from the prompt-side." The catch-word was so loud that "the audience received it from the performer, at

[7] *BG*, 21 November and 17 December 1804; 28 May 1807.

[8] *The Theatre*, 83, 89.

[9] Dunlap refers often to prostitutes in the audience in *History of The American Theatre* (cf. 211).

[1] *BG*, 28 January 1802.

second-hand."[2] These were seemingly minor offenses, but they could ruin an entire performance.

This partial portrait of that shifting and unpredictable body called an audience is a paradoxical mixture of ladies in white gloves and feathered bonnets and primitive stone throwers, of elegant furnishings and gallery carousing. A letter printed in the pro-theatrical *Polyanthos* makes it clear that intransigeant spectators persisted into the nineteenth century. In the spring of 1812 a playgoer who tried to enjoy *The Foundling of the Forest* was annoyed by political discussion that drowned out stage dialogue, by a boy who ringingly explained the entire plot, and, above all, by the "rakes and truants from Harvard" who noticed and named "every prostitute in the green boxes" and agreed "to 'go up and have a row with them.' "[3] Fanny Kemble's journal later gives an outsider's view of the Boston audience. She found them "cold," but added that when they did warm, they were thorough about it, "for they shout and hurrah like mad."[4] The sympathetic response of these shouters may have been to her portrayal there of Kotzebue's Mrs. Haller.

The manager of the theater was a favorite subject for acid comment. His policy in dealing with actors was carefully watched and openly criticized. The villainous treatment of performers by managers was an ever live and popular issue. The *Massachusetts Mercury*, in 1798, damned the trickery of managers who, clutching profits to themselves, foisted their losses on helpless actors. By this intrigue and avarice the managers were claimed "to sport their Phaetons, while an industrious and deserving performer is often seen skulking through bye lanes with broken shoes, and a thread bare coat."[5]

One eighteenth-century playgoer was less concerned about backstage justice than he was about onstage censorship. His idea of the manager's duty and of the reactions of Boston audiences has special interest because it represents a point of view which is neither that of the extreme opponents nor of the ardent advocates of the theater. He attended but he complained. His hopes for a pure republic free from foreign influence had been offended by what he saw and heard. Londoners might demand "licentiousness of language and impurity of sentiment," but Bostonian taste was otherwise. English plays were not fitted to "a New England au-

[2] *FO*, 8 and 11 January 1795. "The Service of the Prompter . . . less sonorous than usual" in 1802; *BG*, 7 January 1802.

[3] *Poly*, May 1812, 235.

[4] Frances Anne Butler, *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1835), II. 132–133.

[5] *MM*, 17 August 1798.

dience." Since America was temporarily backward in producing "native genius," he recognized the inevitability of dangerous imports "from Europe." The solution offered was a careful choice of plays aimed at "the plainness and simplicity of republican manners." Also the manager might change "terms and expressions . . . without affecting in the smallest degree the meaning or spirit of the author." The complainer could not know that Mrs. Inchbald in the "prostituted" city of London was soon to use sanitation on Kotzebue to anticipate just such objections. In the Bostonian's playgoing experience the "lewd jest" had been greeted only by "a responsive giggle from slip-gallery or perhaps one solitary laugh from the pit."[6]

This may be the attitude of that "middling interest" which a reliable contemporary observer[7] claimed to be the largest element in the New England audience, larger and more vital to the box office than the "Nabobs" or the much publicized gigglers in the gallery. Here may also be the key to the coming popularity of Kotzebue's plays despite their flimsy moral premises. One "lewd jest" in a play of ethical profundity would disturb this important group. But they could be reassured by the purified language and pious talk of repentance without penetrating immediately to the basically peculiar moral situations of *The Stranger* and *Lovers' Vows*.

During 1796, the year of this pre-Bowdler advocacy of bowdlerizing, came, among others, performances of *The Rival Queens*, *The Beggar's Opera*, *Inkle and Yarico*, Steele's *Conscious Lovers*, Rowe's *Fair Penitent*, O'Keefe's *Patrick in Prussia*, and *King Lear*. Several nights which brought "first" productions for Boston had been especially elaborate. Cumberland's *Wheel of Fortune* was followed by an American production, *The Indian Chief; or America Discovered*, which included "new Dresses, Music & Indians." In act three an Indian dance featured "Indians, Spaniards, and Indian Women."

For the first *Othello* in Federal Street on 13 January 1796 a "grand Pageant" was prepared to represent "the most striking situations" in Shakespeare. The Tragic Muse, Antony, and Cleopatra marched under one banner. Under another came Sailors with a Ship, Ariel, and Caliban. Macbeth and his lady paraded with daggers, while Roman soldiers accompanied Coriolanus and his family. The Comic Muse came with Falstaff and "Mrs. Ford." Lear had no daughter in the procession, only Kent and Edgar. These and more were followed by a "Car, with a

[6] *CC*, 19 November 1796.

[7] J. T. Buckingham, *New England Galaxy*, 21 March 1823, 284.

Bust of Shakespeare."[8] By pictorial literalization Shakespeare was being kept abreast of the theatrical times. A generation later, Joseph Tinker Buckingham maintained that the plays of Shakespeare "even to the boys in the pit" had become as "familiar in their mouths as household words; and the slightest deviation is instantly discovered."[9]

Controlling obstreperous audiences and easing the mechanics of theatrical operation gave Paine the satisfaction of belonging to what he saw as an institution of lasting significance. As Master of Ceremonies he could work actively for the improvements he had already called for in his writing. Actors, audiences, and managers considered his services important enough that he was accorded public recognition as well as financial reward in the form of benefit nights.

For his benefit in March of 1797 he chose *A Day in Turkey*. Paine assumed the prerogatives of a dramatist and changed Mrs. Cowley's play from five to three acts. The trust of his theatrical colleagues in his literary taste was abiding. Their Master of Ceremonies' free handling of the piece was announced with pride. "Compressed into 3 acts, by Mr. Paine" was as weighty a recommendation on the playbill as the name of the English authoress herself. The comedy was embellished with a "grand Asiatic procession" and a Turkish dance, both features calculated to crowd the house. The play was followed in breathtaking succession by Francis' pantomime interlude, *The Miraculous Mill*, Murphy's *Old Maid*, and Garrick's *Lethe* with new orchestration.[1] In *The Old Maid*, Paine's father-in-law was back to play a leading character in which Bostonians had not seen him for three years.

Another night of honor for Paine came on 24 May 1797 when he was jointly benefited with Mr. Campbell, the prompter of the theater. Mrs. Cowley's play, *The Town Before You*, was offered for the first time in America; a transplanted English "first" was particular bait for a full house. That evening Miss Green danced the hornpipe, and "an original, Comic, Local Pantomime," *The Taste of the Times*,[2] followed the play itself. The growing fondness for pictorial effects had already reached astonishing proportions, for the new pantomime was replete with "Scen-

[8] Play announcements for the 1796 season in *CC*.

[9] *New England Galaxy*, 21 March 1823, 284.

[1] *MM*, 21 March 1797.

[2] Seilhamer (*History of the American Theatre*, 341) says this was "probably by Paine, as it was given for the joint benefit of Mr. Paine, the dramatist, and Mr. Campbell, the prompter of the theatre, with Mr. Baker, Paine's father-in-law, as the Clown . . ." We have been unable to find more convincing evidence than these circumstances.

ery, Dresses, Machinery & Music." The audience which came to pay its financial respects to Paine and to Campbell saw "A beautiful view of Mount Vernon" and an "elegant perspective of the New State House."[3] These scenic feats were attributed to a revolutionary use of a new mechanism. Such taste for spectacle was to be heightened and ratified in the elaborate coming of *Pizarro*.

A few nights after Paine's benefit, on 29 May 1797, came the first performance of the "new tragedy" of *Werter*, for the benefit of Taylor, who had been highly praised by Paine in *The Orrery*. For the Boston audience, at least, *Werter* was the work of Reynolds, "author of *The Dramatist*, *Notoriety*, *How to Grow Rich*, *The Rage*, *Speculation* &c." Goethe's name seems to have been mislaid in the dramatizing in England, the transatlantic crossing, and the stopovers on the New York and Philadelphia stages, though the novel was mentioned as "much celebrated" and public familiarity with its suffering hero was emphasized in verse:

> Who has not heard of Werter, hapless youth,
> The slave of passion, honor, love and truth.
> Who has not sigh'd when o'er the canvas warm
> The artist brings poor Charlotte's beauteous form?
> Who but with her has hung o'er Werter's bier,
> And shed with her the sympathetic tear.

Charlotte's Letters during her connexion with Werter were being advertised the same year.[4]

In 1798 a native playwright gave an answer to Paine's earlier pleas for American drama with *Daranzel; or, The Persian Patriot*. Paine's name was fittingly linked with this play; both were the objects of a special night in the theater. On 16 April the Haymarket Theater was opened for "the Benefit of Mr. Paine," and the "New Historical Drama" was presented. The author remained anonymous, being named only as a gentleman of Boston. He was David Everett, who had settled on "the

[3] *MM*, 23 May 1797 and *CC*, 24 May 1797.

[4] *CC*, 20 May 1797. *Werter*, followed by scenes from *The Mountaineers*, Bickerstaff's *Absent Man*, and a Grand Fandango Dance. For summary of the Reynolds' play see Stuart Pratt Atkins, *The Testament of Werther in Poetry and Drama* (Cambridge, 1949), 180–189 (also for bibliography of Werther poetry). William James, *The Letters of Charlotte during Her Connexion with Werter* (1786) was being sold by John West, November 1797. (Graves's translation of Werther and Charlotte. *The Sorrows of Werther, A German Story*, to which is annexed the letters of Charlotte to a female friend. [by W. James] Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1798: in B. Q. Morgan listing.)

country adjacent to the mouth of the Persian Gulph" for his background. This remote and exotic setting allowed for "A Grand Spectacle." The audience was to be titillated by the stage battle of two Persian armies, the storming of the King's citadel, the explosion of a mine, "and the destruction of the whole Persian Fleet in the Bay of Ormus" by cannon. Bostonians were as curious as though the spectacle had been located on native grounds. There were rumors concerning the identity of the author, who was claimed to be learned in the classics and in the drama.[5]

The author's learning was greater than the vitality of his play, which betrays heavy borrowings from the Elizabethan and from the late seventeenth-century heroic drama. In *Daranzel* there is a conflict between love and honor set against a background of tyranny and rebellion. The core of the conflict is "the voice of Persia" calling the tortured hero from the arms of his beloved. Although the prologue asks,

> Let not the panders of your taste oppose
> the foreign bramble to the native rose,

there is little in the setting or language of the play to prove that it is "a native rose." In theme and tone, however, it once contained much to stimulate an audience for whom the Revolution was still a vivid memory and for whom the word patriot still carried the full honors of seventeen seventy-six:

> Die every other passion of my soul,
> My country's love shall breathe, with every breath.[6]

Paine's mother-in-law and father-in-law had leading roles in *Daranzel*, and he was probably the "literary friend" who "corrected and improved" the play for Everett before it was published in 1800. The fate of *Daranzel* did not live up to expectations for it, although one member of the first audience, who had evidently enjoyed the play, grumbled at the lack of continued recognition accorded it, and suggested a revival: "By permission of the author I have perused the manuscript. It unites in my opinion, many and great dramatic excellencies. I am confident it would be well received by that large part of the community, who are friends and patrons of American genius."[7]

Paine's own compositions were now and again an important part of the

[5] *MM*, 13 April 1798. *Daranzel* was performed twice in 1800.

[6] David Everett, *Daranzel; or, The Persian Patriot* (Boston, 1800), Act II, scene 1, 16.

[7] *RG*, 9 January 1800.

theatrical entertainment during these years. *The Spirit of the Times* was a localized "Olio of Song and Sentiment" given in June of 1798. For it Paine wrote a "Eulogy on the Young Men of Boston." And that same night his song, "Adams and Liberty," was delivered in the stage setting that was a reproduction of State Street.[8]

The writer who had mocked Robert Treat's prologue on the first night of the theater's history must, in 1798, have enjoyed the smug satisfaction of a Cassandra whose foreboding had been literally fulfilled; his ominous plea,

> O, may the lightning rend these walls profane,
> And desolation o'er the ruins reign,

was granted when the Federal Street Theater was ruined by fire in February. After the restoration Paine was elected to compose a dedicatory address for the opening night, 29 October 1798. The theater had proved to be of sturdy growth; the destruction of a building was merely an interlude in its progress. The reopening after such a trial gave an opportunity to reaffirm the beliefs Paine had first put into verse four years earlier. Having seen actors and actresses in their daily faces, petty quarrels of the company, bungling performances, and in full memory of bumptious spectators, Paine could still write with hope and humor:

> Once more, kind patrons of the Thespian art,
> Friends to the science of the human heart,
> Behold the temple of the Muse aspire,
> A Phoenix stage, which propagates by fire!
>
> But don't swoon, beaus! another mode we'll try,
> To save our lives, and keep your ruffles dry.
> From fire and water your escape is certain;
> Your shield of safety is—our Iron Curtain![9]

IV

Das Kind der Liebe IN BOSTON

The names of Paine, Kotzebue, Washington, and Adams were featured on the same playbill on 25 February 1799. Paine chose *Lovers' Vows (Das Kind der Liebe)* for his benefit that night, and Mrs. Snelling Powell delivered "An Apostrophe to Washington on his reacceptance of

[8] *RG*, 4 June 1798 and *MM*, 8 June 1798.

[9] Dedicatory address reprinted in *Works*, 199–201.

the command of the American Army." Hodgkinson recited Paine's own celebrated composition, "Adams and Liberty," in which America's shores were pronounced inviolate and "unshaken by Europe's commotion":

> Let them bring all the vassals of Europe in arms,
> We're a world by ourselves and disdain a division.
> Let Fame to the world sound America's voice;
>
> Her pride is her Adams; his laws are her choice.

An aura of scholarship surrounded the coming of the Englished German play into this invincible new world. There were claims for its being based on "the genuine Leipsic edition of 1771" instead of any of the "twelve spurious editions" printed at "Neuwied, Frankfort, Cologne, and Leipsic," which might have been foisted off on a less discerning audience. A 1771 edition was a minor error in the name of publicity. The date would have made Kotzebue a ten-year-old prodigy in dramatic composition but is not unbelievable to modern readers of *Das Kind der Liebe*.

William Dunlap in New York had been ahead of the Boston manager in realizing what Kotzebue could do for the box office, and was already on his way to becoming the best American translator of the playwright's usable works. But *Lovers' Vows* came to Boston before New York, an unusual instance for local self-satisfaction. Notices for Paine's benefit evening attributed Kotzebue's distinction to his originality as opposed to the prevailing imitative tendencies of other contemporary dramatists. *Lovers' Vows* was said to be a crowning revelation for a "literary audience" of the German's "mind . . . principles, and . . . genius."[1]

The "Leipsic edition" which caused such ado in Boston was the handiwork of Mrs. Inchbald, who knew no German but had not allowed that point to stand in her way as an international medium.[2] The success of her

[1] *MM*, 22 February 1799 and *CC*, 23 February 1799. *Re* "Adams and Liberty" see James Spear Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators from 1770 to 1852* (Boston, 1853), 286. The Ode in *Works*, 245–247. Dunlap's adaptation of *Lovers' Vows* opened in New York, 11 March 1799.

[2] She worked from a literal translation which came to her in "broken English." See *Lovers' Vows*, from the German of Kotzebue by Mrs. Inchbald (London, 1799), iv. Inchbald translation also printed in Boston 1799. Original in *Theater von August v. Kotzebue* (Leipzig, 1840), II. Valuable material on Kotzebue translations can be found in Oral Summer Coad, *William Dunlap* (New York, 1917), 208–237; B. Q. Morgan, *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481–1927* (Stanford, 1938), 280–290; Frederick H. Wilkins, "Early Influence of German Literature in America," *Americana Ger-*

version is telling as to the freedom of the original from literary complexity. The cultural phenomenon of Kotzebue's affecting or afflicting New England at the very end of the eighteenth century may be more easily attacked than understood. The playwright has long since been thoroughly flogged in print. His fellow Germans, not shirking their national responsibilities, led the way in noting that he was a success without being a writer. Rosters of faults are available in a choice of languages.[3] The same craze seized Weimar and Dresden with perhaps less excuse than in Boston. The Germans had Goethe and Schiller in their midst.[4] The New Englanders had dramatists like David Everett and Judith Sargent Murray. As George Ticknor was to discover, there was no escape from Kotzebue by leaving Boston, since the playwright was omnipresent in his homeland.[5]

To Mrs. Inchbald must go some credit for the popularity of *Lovers' Vows,* in which, after years of suffering, Agatha becomes the wife of the baron who originally seduced her. His grand gesture legitimizes his son, Frederick, by the time the latter is old enough for seductions of his own. While cleaning foppish Count Cassell's reminiscences and changing Amelia's "forward and unequivocal" professions of love into a ladylike backwardness, Mrs. Inchbald had sternly believed that the girl would otherwise have been "revolting to an English audience."[6]

In this expurgated and purified German drama there were elements of strong appeal for the Boston spectators. The only homespun titled aristocrat in New England was the slightly mad Timothy Dexter of Newburyport, where Paine was shortly to spend some time. The Newburyport character decided on his own to be "Lord" Dexter. Others, if

manica (1899), III. 110–136; and *American Plays Printed 1714–1830,* compiled by Frank Pierce Hill (Stanford, 1934), 25–36.

[3] Menzel accused him of converting Parnassus into a brothel, and Gervinus said, ". . . we cannot dispense with, but we can despise him." See L. F. Thompson, *Kotzebue, A Survey of His Progress in France and England* (Paris, 1928), 6–7; and Walter F. Schirmer, *Der Einfluss der deutschen Literatur auf die englische im 19. Jahrhundert* (Halle/Saale, 1947), 23–24. German critical attacks summarized in Chapter I of Albert William Holzmann, *Family Relationships in the Dramas of August von Kotzebue* (Princeton, 1935).

[4] Kotzebue's averaging, in Vienna, forty-five showings annually in eighty years to 1867 "was by no means a flash in the pan," says W. H. Bruford, *Theatre, Drama and Audience in Goethe's Germany* (London, 1950), 264. See also Lawrence Marsden Price, *English Literature in Germany* (Berkeley, 1953), 163.

[5] Orie William Long, *Literary Pioneers, Early Explorers of European Culture* (Cambridge, 1935), 28–29.

[6] *Lovers' Vows,* 1799, v.

they had any such regressive longings, were less open about it but remained curious as to high life among the foreign aristocrats. *Lovers' Vows* offered reassurance to the new world that democratic principles and the sanctity of marriage finally caught up with barons in the old world. It was good republican sentiment that the baroness for whom Agatha had been deserted was described as "very haughty," "very whimsical," Alsatian, and dead.[7]

There was further bait in Pastor Anhalt's double triumph over mere lineage and over those of questionable morals in winning the aristocratic Amelia (who had been so forward in the German original) and in making such a powerful address to Baron Wildenhaim's better nature. A minister is here a romantic hero and a champion of the people's social rights against upper class irresponsibility and snobbery. How reassuring it must have been to the "middling interest" in the audience to hear the baron decide to acknowledge his son and then wait eagerly for Anhalt's approval with "Am I in the right?" When the baron tries to dodge his duty to Agatha by giving her a house instead of a ring, he asks again, "Don't I do right?" Anhalt answers, "No."[8] Here was a baron properly subjugated to ministerial opinion. And in Anhalt's own love for Amelia virtue triumphs over modest birth, and the once arrogant Wildenhaim must admit: "A man of your principles . . . exalts his rank in life to a level with the noblest family."[9] At a time when America wanted to hasten to some kind of distinction among nations, there was a nod to at least one national talent in the Count's speech on his migrations:

> . . . for I am an epitome of the world. In my travels I learnt delicacy in Italy—hauteur, in Spain—in France, enterprize—in Russia, prudence—in England, sincerity—in Scotland, frugality—and in the wilds of America, I learnt love.[1]

The dialogue of the play after Mrs. Inchbald's cleansing treatments outlawed any misinterpretations of the meaning here of the word love.

For Paine's benefit performance of *Lovers' Vows*, Agatha was played by Mrs. Whitlock. A sister of Mrs. Siddons, she had first appeared in Boston as Isabella in *The Fatal Marriage* on 3 October 1796. She seems to have had true gifts aside from her theatrically monumental sister, to have been distinguished in her own right in the terror, grief, and despair of the leading ladies in *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, *Venice Preserved*, *The Orphan*, and *The Mourning Bride*, although she was also praised for her special elegance as Lady Teazle. Others besides Paine named her the "first"

[7] Act II, scene 1, 26.
[8] Act V, scene 2, 88.
[9] Act V, scene 2, 91.
[1] Act II, scene 2, 33.

actress in America.[2] Mrs. Haller, in *The Stranger (Menschenhass und Reue)*, became one of her choice parts.

From the first night on, the character of Frederick in *Lovers' Vows*, like that of Young Norval in *Douglas*, was a favorite role in the repertoire of theatrical lions visiting Boston. John Howard Payne was to include it in his début performances there. His precocious acting and theatrical commentaries in America have until recently been submerged in relation to interest in his collaboration with Washington Irving on *Charles II*, his involvement with Shelley's wife, and his composition of *Home Sweet Home* during a European sojourn. This kinsman of Robert Treat Paine also managed to be the author of *Brutus*, a successful Frederick, and an adapter of *Lovers' Vows*. In 1809 he pieced together Benjamin Thompson's and Mrs. Inchbald's work, and called it "altering." His special stage appeal as Frederick came through his own youth and publicized struggles, which convincingly emphasized the pathos and problems of the Kotzebue youth who was minus a birth certificate until Baron Wildenhaim saw the right.[3]

Strangely enough, when reaction did set in against the Kotzebue craze, *Lovers' Vows* was to be a vague exception to the moral objections raised against other German plays. A New England opponent of the German drama was to call the play "the most unexceptionable, both as regards the moral of the plot and the characters of the dramatis personae." For over a decade Agatha's and Frederick's troubles could stimulate locally "a large portion of commiseration."[4] Bostonians were not alone in reiterating "unexceptionable" in connection with *Lovers' Vows*. Jane Austen satirized the theatrical rage of the turn of the century with the same adjectives and the same play. At Mansfield Park all "the best plays were run over in vain. Neither Hamlet nor Macbeth, nor Othello, nor Douglas, nor the Gamester" could satisfy her amateur actors. "*The Rivals, The School for Scandal, Wheel of Fortune, Heir at Law*, and a long et

[2] See also "Biographical Notice of Mrs. Whitlock, the American Siddons," *The Thespian Mirror*, 4 January 1806, 9–10.

[3] Payne, *Lovers' Vows* (Baltimore, 1809; copy in Houghton Library). Gabriel Harrison, *John Howard Payne* (Philadelphia, 1885) and Willis T. Hanson, *The Early Life of John Howard Payne* ("with contemporary letters heretofore unpublished," Boston, 1913). Hanson includes letter from Payne to Robert Treat Paine from New York 11 June 1809, 124–125. See also Sarah C. Paine, *Paine Ancestry*, ed. C. H. Pope (Boston, 1912), and Grace Overmyer, *America's First Hamlet* (New York, 1957).

[4] *Poly*, February 1812, 65. *Emerald* in an attack refers to *Lovers' Vows*, "admitting it to be more free from faults than any other production of Kotzebue" (25 October 1806, 304).

cetera, were successively dismissed with yet warmer objections." The dilemma is solved by *Lovers' Vows*. "And why should not *Lovers' Vows* do for *us* as well as for the Ravenshaws?" To Edmund's shocked "*Lovers' Vows!*" Yates cries, "After all our debatings and difficulties, we find there is nothing so unexceptionable as *Lovers' Vows*."[5]

By 1806 *Lovers' Vows* was closely enough known locally for a Boston reviewer to catch Mrs. Inchbald borrowing for a play of her own from the very Kotzebue play whose language she had scrubbed down, thus having simultaneously adapted in one instance and utilized in another with creative efficiency:

> Mrs. Inchbald seems to have copied some German originals for many of her incidents. . . . In *Lovers' Vows* the father is robbed by the son for a mother's necessities; and from this fact is a reconciliation effected.—In *Every One has his Fault* the father is robbed by the husband and son for the daughter's necessities; and from this fact a reconciliation is effected.

Dimond's *Adrian and Orrila* was also to be analyzed in light of a critic's training in Kotzebue. Noting that Schiller's special quality was dignity while Kotzebue had a monopoly on "pathos," this authority decided that "Agatha, in *Lovers' Vows* and Madame Clermont are parallel characters," that Agatha and Frederick had given literary transfusions to Adrian, Orrila, and Githa." Paine, too, wrote that the Dimond play was "formed on the German model and abounds with poetick description." There is a suggestion, however, that its "occasional coruscation of wit" came from elsewhere.[6]

Lovers' Vows penetrated other parts of New England. In the summer of 1800 the Boston company carried it to Portland along with that cynical stage trifle, *The Widow and the Riding Horse (Die Witwe und das Reitpferd)*, thus giving a Germanic double feature. In Providence *Lovers' Vows* became unfortunately linked with an off-stage seduction. The actor who played Frederick "succeeded in enticing a young girl, the daughter of a respectable citizen, from her home." The story ran that this Frederick was "a heathen destroyer" who had abandoned three wives in England before even starting in America.[7]

The stage history of *The Stranger* was also enlivened by instances of the imitation and translation of the drama into real life by spectators and

[5] *Mansfield Park*, I, in *Novels and Letters of Jane Austen* (New York, 1906), v. 187–199.

[6] *E*, 27 December 1806, 412, and new series, 23 January 1808, I. 161. *Works*, 353.

[7] George O. Willard, *History of the Providence Stage* (Providence, 1891), 73.

by actors and actresses. Coming to Boston in March of 1799, with Hodgkinson and Mrs. Whitlock in the leading roles, the play attracted "crowded and elegant" audiences. Tributes to its pathos and high moral tone in the depiction of the suffering which could emanate from conjugal infidelity were climaxed in a *Gazette* review pronouncing this Kotzebue work to be "the most interesting and impressive" drama ever presented in the town. Other notable actresses besides Mrs. Whitlock and Fanny Kemble were to become identified in New England with Mrs. Haller, the heroine who could "sit and cry you a whole day through."[8] Mary Duff, whose career is interesting and brief, who changed overnight from a mousy to a fiery performer, was one of the best Mrs. Hallers Bostonians ever saw. Playing with eyes downcast, she gave such an impression of innocence that the coldest critics could not believe that Mrs. Haller had ever really gone astray. She so identified herself with Kotzebue's creation that one evening in the last scene "she swooned outright, fell upon the stage, and was not able to recover until assistance came to her relief."[9] One favorite story about *The Stranger* has several versions. At Mrs. Haller's confession there would be screams or a shriek. A prostrate spectator would be carried out to confess the fact that she had just been saved from her intentions of repeating Mrs. Haller's error by realizing in the nick of time the troublesome results.[1]

Kotzebue himself rejoiced that the play had led a straying wife back to the legal roof, and he may have been responsible for setting in motion the gratifying moral story.[2] Actresses could enlarge on it as a tribute to their talents in stirring ladies to stay at home, and the author could offer it as proof of his irreproachable intentions. The anecdotes, moral questions, and critical attacks had accumulated by the time Thackeray gave cogent reasons for the long stage life of *The Strangers:* ". . . in the midst of the balderdash, there runs that quality of love, children, and forgiveness of wrong, which will be listened to wherever it is preached."[3]

The same year as his benefit for *Lovers' Vows* and the victorious ar-

[8] Kotzebue, *The Stranger* (tr. B. Thompson, Boston, n.d. [1807?]), Act I, scene 1, 8. Original in *Theater von A. v. Kotzebue*, I. Papendick trans. published in Boston and Salem in 1799. Copy of Salem edition in Huntington Library.

[9] Joseph N. Ireland, *Mrs. Duff* (Boston, 1882); Clapp, *History of the Boston Stage*, 116; Willard, *History of the Providence Stage*, 78; *Dramatic Mirror*, 3 February 1829.

[1] Anna Cora Mowatt, *Autobiography of an Actress* (Boston, 1853), 247–248.

[2] Kotzebue felt that the anecdote would sweeten his last hour: *Theater von August von Kotzebue* (Leipzig, 1840), II. 125.

[3] W. M. Thackeray, *Pendennis* (London, n.d., Chiswick Edition), I. 57.

rival of *The Stranger* in Boston, Paine left for Newburyport to study law with Theophilus Parsons. This experiment was destined to no greater ultimate success than the earlier one with James Tisdale. It did, however, last longer, and Robert Treat concentrated sufficiently on his legal texts to be admitted to the bar of Massachusetts by 1802.[4] His departure from the theater and Boston was temporary. In Newburyport he was not content to be an obscure law student. Cut off from the stage, he expressed himself in rhyme. The success of his writing and the exercise of his sharp tongue in daily encounters left a mark. E. Vale Smith, who in 1854 recorded the history of Newburyport, remembered Paine as having achieved more reputation as a poet than a lawyer: "His talents commanded admiration, and his wit excited merriment and delight; he was bold in his views, quick at retort, and sometimes fearfully sarcastic."[5] Theophilus Parsons' son, writing a memoir of his father, recalled Paine less as his parent's legal disciple than as "a brilliant companion," one who "yielded to the seductions of society more than was consistent with a due devotion to his profession."[6]

Newburyporters took pride in the literary interests of this wit and professed scholar in law. When Paine's "Adams and Liberty," which had garnished the première of *Lovers' Vows*, was published in London, *The Newburyport Herald and Country Gazette* boasted that the British had given the "highest praise of its sentiment and language."[7] At the death of George Washington, Paine was given an opportunity to distinguish himself further. Bostonians, too, were informed:

> At the unanimous request of the inhabitants of Newburyport Mr. Paine, on Wednesday next, at that place will pronounce an Eulogy on the death of Lieut. Gen. Washington. Had the father of his country been known to posterity, only through the medium of Mr. Paine's Muse, she would have been a faithful herald of his greatness; and a sure voucher for his immortality. Mr. Paine's language is transcendently elegant; but the elegance of his language, is inadequate to the elevation of his ideas; and the elevation of his ideas to the sublimity of the present subject.[8]

The Boston Theater had closed its doors "on the moment of the

[4] Paine's admission to the bar "at the Court of Common Pleas, for the county of Suffolk," announced in *BG*, 11 January 1802.

[5] E. Vale Smith, *History of Newburyport* (Newburyport, 1854), 326.

[6] Theophilus Parsons, *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons, by his son* (Boston, 1859), 136.

[7] *Newburyport Herald and Country Gazette*, 15 February 1799, 11.

[8] *RG*, 30 December 1799.

annunciation of General Washington's death."[9] Robert Treat was honest enough to realize that the eulogy over his eulogy was not completely merited. Writing to his father and enclosing a copy of the poem, he admitted that he knew too little about Washington to write well in his memory. The son in Newburyport did remind his parent in Boston of "that unusual share of public approbation" which greeted his work "in the town where it originated. . . ."[1]

While Paine was away, dramatic activity went on in Boston, but the commentaries with few exceptions were rigid, laudatory, and superficial by comparison with his. *The Stranger* was played several times in the fall of 1799, once on "the most tempestuous" night of the season "to a thin, but delighted auditory." Kotzebue and Shakespeare were casually linked as colleagues in genius in the reviews of plays. *Henry IV*, presented in December of that year, was well cast, but "the boxes were nearly empty." When Moreton's *Columbus; or, A World Discovered* was performed a few months later, there was the special attraction of an "Explosion of a Volcano, or a Burning Mountain."[2]

In the season of 1800–1801 Mrs. Whitlock was continuing to display Mrs. Haller's miseries of conscience and intensity of repentance, thus stimulating "the tragic Muse to shed new tears in Boston." *The Stranger* was said "to have deservedly engrossed much of the public favor" for several seasons. Again there was as much fuss over translations as with *Lovers' Vows*, Mr. Whitlock having brought to town in 1800 a transcript of the Drury Lane prompt book "by permission of Mr. Sheridan." Audiences were already recalling "the peculiar excellence" of Hodgkinson's *Stranger* and carefully measuring Rutley's against it. Rutley was declared to be superior in the famous final scene, in which the children effect a last-minute reconciliation between Mrs. Haller and her justifiably misanthropic husband.[3]

Steady repetitions of *The Stranger* alerted Boston critics to its echoes in the British plays arriving in America. Cumberland's successful *Wheel of Fortune* was interpreted as a dramatic relative of *Menschenhass und Reue*:

> Whether Cumberland borrowed the causes of his hero's misanthropy from Kotzebue, or Kotzebue from him; or whether both characters are original in

[9] *RG*, 26 December 1799.

[1] Ms. letter from Newburyport, 19 January 1800 (MHS). Paine's earlier oration on the dissolution of the alliance with France had been highly praised by Washington himself.

[2] *RG*, 26 September 1799 and 13 February 1800; *BG*, 9 December 1799.

[3] *BG*, 17 and 20 November 1800.

both authors, it is certain there is a great similarity of disposition in Baron Steinfort and Penruddock. This play is a great favourite of the English public, but is superseded by that of *The Stranger* in America.[4]

By February of 1801 Paine was taking time out from his legal work to write dramatic criticism for *The Boston Gazette*. William Dunlap, in his novel, *Thirty Years Ago; or, The Memoirs of a Water Drinker*, satirized this infidelity to the law on Paine's part under the guise of a character named Thomas Treadwell. Treadwell, in Dunlap's characterization,

found the drama much more to his taste, and the Muses and actresses much more fascinating, than report, records, or deeds. Treadwell's propensities induced a constant attendance, (after the honeymoon) upon those scenes, either before or behind the curtain, which his love of idleness had made habitual; and as he wrote prologues, epilogues, and puffs, for the managers, and performers, he was a free and welcome visitor.[5]

One drama which lured Paine away from legal studies was *Pizarro; or, The Death of Rolla (Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rollas Tod)*, the theatrical rage in February of 1801 and already a familiar spectacle to Boston audiences when Paine wrote his criticism. In honor of its coming in December of 1799, the entire plot had been published in minute detail, Kotzebue was called "President of the Imperial Theatre at Vienna," Elvira's last scenes were pronounced to be unsurpassed by anything in "the favorite comedy of *The Stranger*," and the language was hailed for "boldness, perspicuity . . . , and poetic brilliance." The lavish stage effects included "A Magnificent Pavilion . . . a wild retreat among stupendous Rocks, a dreadful storm, a torrent falling down a precipice," and finally "a Bridge formed by a felled tree." These were not enough. In "the course of the Scene, Rolla tears from the rock the tree which supports the bridge, and the Spaniards sink into the Cataract." Paine's parents-in-law played Davilla and a second Peruvian woman. Both were in the pageantry of processions and sacrifices carried on by singing priests, matrons, and virgins of the sun.[6]

[4] *E*, 11 April 1807, 173. According to Mrs. Inchbald, Cumberland lifted *The Wheel of Fortune* from "a critique of Kotzebue's drama in a review." First Boston performance of *Wheel of Fortune*, 4 January 1796.

[5] Dunlap, *Thirty Years ago; or, Memoirs of a Water Drinker* (New York, 1837), 79. Coad, in *William Dunlap*, 278, refers to "striking resemblance" between Treadwell and Paine.

[6] R. B. Sheridan adaptation. *RG*, 17 October, 9 and 12 December 1799 (first Boston performance, 9 December). (Thompson, *Kotzebue's Progress*, 66, discusses Sheridan's alterations: "The play is Kotzebue's, not Sheridan's.")

Before Paine ever discussed *Pizarro,* an artisan from Drury Lane, Bromley, had spent three months at hard labor making improvements on the muchness of these scenic wonders originally established by Audin. For the performance Paine reviewed on 16 February 1801, there was a special view of Pizarro's tent, "a Magnificent Representation of the Temple of the Sun," which included "the Ceremony of making the Offering . . . Consumed by Fire from Above." Rolla's lifting of the tree and confounding of the Spaniards had already been considered too successful to be tampered with. The splendor of the Temple of the Sun thrilled New Englanders whose ancestors in England had opposed church ornamentation as well as playhouses.

Paine believed that some control and relevance had been brought into the pictorial effects by Bromley's work. Admitting that the author of the play had aimed to produce a vehicle of "novel" scenery, the critic distinguished between kinds of spectacle: the confusing and excessive assault on the eye versus the setting which supported and heightened the drama itself. The "uncouth presentment of gorgeous coloring, and ill-managed perspective . . . dazzled by [means of] the splendid imposture" and "bewildered the imagination in search of nature and reality." It is difficult to believe that anyone sought or found nature and reality in *Pizarro.* But Paine was still trying to encourage genuinely effective work in setting by defining the ideal:

> Scenick ornament, if so happily portrayed, and so scientifically arranged, as to produce visual illusion, impresses the boldest similitude of life on dramatick representation, it embodies the conception of the author, by giving to abstract sentiment "a local habitation."[7]

"Personation" or characterization hinged, in Paine's theory, on the basic principle that illusion was always to be related to and to assist the initial literary intention or conception. In the triumphant *coup d'oeil* of *Pizarro,* he said, the players had perhaps caught fire from the scene. This is a telling suggestion of one reason for the play's dominance. Scenic skill here compensated for inherent deficiencies and even gave the inspiration to players which was missing in Kotzebue's slippery motivation. This externalized stimulus helped produce a long line of flashy performances in all countries theatrically occupied by Kotzebue.

[7] *BG,* 16, 23, and 26 February 1801. (Paine's criticism reprinted in *Works,* 390ff.) By the end of 1804 the demand for this "localized habitation" was to be carried so far that a quibbler asked of the scenery used in *Paul and Virginia:* "Should not the Trees exhibit the foliage of that country, and not the leaves of Europe or America?" (*BG,* 13 December 1804).

A chilling fact related to the success of such plays as *Pizarro* faces those who attempt to study theatrical history. This is the recurring and great divorce between literary quality and stage triumph—exceptions like Elizabethan London quickly granted. With *Pizarro* the convolutions in setting, heroic ranting, familial sentiment, and the triumph of virtue after a due enjoyment of its opposite are no full answer to a complex question. All of these elements can be found in stillborn American plays of the time. Kotzebue applied a fatal skill to the mixture. Paine, who was against "a superstitious sacrifice to scenery" or "a cynical expression of romance," gave some enlightenment on this brand of popularity:

> The contrivance of the plot is so exquisitely managed that, when well presented, the ingenuity of the fiction insinuates an interest as powerful, as that of real life, because for the moment it is believed, and more subtle, because it captivates by illusion.[8]

Contrivance, ingenuity, and insinuation are keys in this case of victorious theatrical illusion.

Mrs. Whitlock played the Elvira watched by Paine. Her practice as Mrs. Haller stood her in good stead here, since she was once again in the role of participating in wrongdoing and rich repentance. Having made the titillating admission in the first scene that she turned to Pizarro out of "Passion, infatuation, call it what you will," Elvira is by the last act in an orgy of remorse and has her outraged relatives much in mind. The insinuated pleasures are thus tearfully floated back to a sphere of seeming morality:

> Then, the last shrieks which burst from my mother's breaking heart, as she died, appealing to her God against the seducer of her child! Then the blood-stifled groan of my murder'd brother . . . seeking atonement for his sister's ruin'd honor.[9]

While Elvira explores the pitfall of passion, Pizarro, too, after a due indulgence in conquest and cruelty, has learned something—that ambition does not pay. Like the baron facing the pastor in *Lovers' Vows*, he has "sunk confounded and subdued" before a "native dignity of soul." The soul is Rolla's. But it is too late for Pizarro to do much beyond being killed—after wishing he could "evade" his own reflections: "No . . .

[8] *BG*, 26 February 1801.

[9] *Pizarro*; a tragedy taken from the German drama of Kotzebue and adapted to the English stage by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (tenth edition, London, 1799), Act V, scene 3, 62. A Boston reprint of Sheridan adaptation in 1809. Original in *Theater von A. v. Kotzebue*, IV.

Thought and memory are my Hell."[1] By 1847 Bostonians were to receive a less impassioned account of Francisco Pizarro's activities via William Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*.

Pizarro inspired Paine to present a few of the criteria by which he judged. Loath to give "indiscriminate praise," he despised "malignant censure" as well. Confronted by such an array of officers, priests, virgins, matrons, Spaniards, and Peruvians who might expect a few words each, he rejected the idea of giving a laudatory or damnatory sentence to every member of the cast from "the Roscius who enacts 'Hamlet,' down to his brother orator the carpenter, who plays the 'Cock.' " For the benefit of his cataloguing colleagues, he observed: "Some criticks are indeed a great deal like the clerk of a militia company on a parade day; their whole duty consists in calling over the muster roll of its members, without either examining their arms, or improving their discipline."[2] Mr. Jones, who played Alonzo, Cora's husband whom Pizarro imprisoned and Rolla saved, was shortly destined for the role in real life of deceived husband—with Paine cast as the lover.

Other Kotzebue dramas besides *Lovers' Vows*, *The Stranger*, and *Pizarro* reached Boston in one form or another. In the fall of 1799 Barrett brought out and acted the hero in "the ingenious Mr. Dunlap's "*Count Benyowski (Graf Benjowski)*. The play was received as a study of "the strongest passion in the human breast," the struggle for freedom from bondage. Kotzebue's "striking incidents" and revelations of "the deepest sympathies of the heart" were applauded, as was the combination of those watchwords of the time—"unity of plan" and "variety of incident."[3]

While patriotic toasts were being drunk to John Adams' administration in late 1800, there were also tributes to the German playwright with the preparations for the first Boston performance of *Sighs; or, The Daughter (Armut und Edelsinn)* in the Hoare translation. The difficulties of fully transmitting "the character of the German drama" to the "genius of English representation" were emphasized. It was also noted that former Kotzebue plays were enough to bring persons of taste to this new offering, that those benighted enough never to have seen the predecessors would be drawn by the established local fame of the dramatist. Mrs. Whitlock

[1] Act V, scene 3, 64.

[2] *Works*, 393–394.

[3] *RG*, 26 September and 31 October 1799. *Count Benyowsky* was played in Salem and Providence in 1803 (Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs*, I. 52). 1800 Boston reprint of B. Thompson translation listed by Morgan. Original in *Theater von A. v. Kotzebue*, IV.

played Josephine, Von Snarl's daughter. And the response came up to expectations.[4]

In 1800, *False Shame; or, The American Orphan in Germany (Falsche Scham)* came to Boston,[5] bringing a German image of a bit of United States history. Emmy, the orphan, is dubbed a "dear little American." In the English and Hessian assault on Charlestown, Emmy, a helpless child in the ruins of the city, is saved by Captain Erlach. Even in the flames this young and orphaned linguist speaks English, French, and German with equal fluency and has, instead of a strawberry mark, the significant initials "A.M." on her clothes. After she grows up in Germany and several identities are cleared up in intense reunions, Emmy and her rescuer will marry. The picture of their honeymoon cottage was to become a familiar image of sentiment in American popular imaginings of German home life:

> Yes, we will buy us a little country place in an Alpine dale, where the friendly sun shall shine on our cot, where aromatic herbs shall breathe health around us, and wild roses artlessly bloom like thy cheeks. There will we join in the dances of the free-hearted Shepherds—Huzza! Erlach and his lovely wife.[6]

Translations of selected German poetry and prose were to bring in and embellish like images of rural bowers abroad. Nineteenth-century American travellers were to write comparable gilded accounts. When Mark Twain, remembering Auerbach's tales of the Black Forest, gave his description of a German forest home, he set off a refreshing literary explosion:

> Before the ground-floor door was a huge pile of manure. The door of a second-story room on the side of the house was open, and occupied by the rear elevation of a cow . . . All of the front half of the house from the ground up seemed to be occupied by the people, the cows, and the chickens, and all the rear half by draught animals and hay. But the chief feature all around this house was the big heaps of manure.[7]

Despite Kotzebue's attractions, Shakespeare, Cibber, Lillo, Sheridan, Colman, Mrs. Cowley, and Mrs. Centlivre—even New England's own

[4] *BG*, 10 and 13 November 1800. Hoare translation printed by S. Etheridge for E. Larkin in Boston, 1800. Copy in Houghton Library.

[5] Peter Oliver, "The Boston Theatre, 1800," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIV. 554–570.

[6] William Dunlap, *False Shame and Thirty Years*, ed. Oral Sumner Coad (Princeton, 1940); Act IV, 50.

[7] Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* (Leipzig, 1880), I. 185.

David Everett—were among the survivors who continued to be represented in Boston during the German's heyday. Mrs. Grundy came to town in Morton's *Speed the Plough*. Mrs. Whitlock turned from Kotzebue to another German dramatist and gave Bostonians their first acquaintance with the story of Agnes of Bernauer via Toerring-Guttenzell's *Tournament*. The aristocratic ties of the German author were stressed, along with the play's combination of the "tenderest emotions" with splendid trappings such as a bridge across a stage Danube. The same actress further displayed "her educated mind" and "discrimination of taste" in such non-German roles as Euphrasia in Murphy's *Grecian Daughter*. "Dr." Smollett was dubbed "the elegant Novelist," and his *Reprisal* was theatrically "localiz'd and rendered truly *American;* exhibiting to each brave tar his own portrait; and to each lover of his country a pleasing prospect of its future prosperity."[8] Literary patriotism was still alive. The stage diet had many variations. But at the turn of the century Kotzebue's name led all the rest.

Besides watching processions to the heavily used Temple of the Sun, Paine had managed to gain sufficient legal knowledge by mid 1802 to be handling such cases as that of Ebenezer Steele, a bankrupt.[9] Yet respectable society, which had first undertaken to reform and then to welcome him back as a poet who now had a solid profession to add weight to his odes, was to be disappointed again. Paine was on the verge of a new "enthrallment" with an actress other than Mrs. Paine, who had early retired from the stage. This affair was at least a form of devotion to his real interest, the theater, and perhaps less significant than the straying into German byways of the critic who had once gone in pursuit of American playwrights.

V

Residue of a German Fad

A German playwright had won the attention hopefully promised in 1794 to American Terences and Sheridans, especially to any originating in New England. Early suspicions that foreign modes might be insinuated through the theater had become a reality. The Kotzebue vogue was to go through stages of dissension as it waned. Not decisively over when the interest of audiences began to subside, the fashion and the rebellion against it extended previous awareness of continental activities. Kotze-

[8] *RG*, 15 and 29 September 1800; *BG*, 22 December 1800.
[9] *BG*, 1 July 1802.

bue's name and background persisted as objects of interest, and when he was assassinated, Boston periodicals were almost as concerned as if he had been born on the banks of the Charles and stabbed in State Street.[1]

The fad also deposited remnants of information about greater Germans. Weimar and its luminaries were part of Kotzebue's own rhapsodic accounts of his progress to fame. In 1799 *The Constant Lover (Geprüfte Liebe)* prefaced by "My Literary Life" was printed in Boston.[2] Here Kotzebue begs "ye fairy phantoms of my happy childhood" to "Rise then! rise before me!" Lessing and Goethe are among those who rise. To illustrate his devotion to the Weimar theater, the Duchess Amalia, and the "admirable" Eckhof, and to display his own mental prowess, Kotzebue reminisced: "I could repeat the whole of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* without ever having had the book in my hand. To the honour of the fashionable world at Weimar, I must confess indeed that *Emilia Galotti* was very often performed, and always to full houses."[3] He also told of being taken by Musaeus to see *The Death of Adam* by Klopstock, whose name was already more familiar to Americans than that of Lessing, although *Minna von Barnhelm* had appeared in the guise of *The Baroness of Bruchsal* in Charleston and as *The Disbanded Officer* in Philadelphia, and Fanny Holcroft's translation was to be printed in Boston in 1810.

In Kotzebue's autobiographical account available to Bostonian readers, Goethe seems to have met an awkward situation with the tact of literary silence:

> Goethe used to visit in our house; he heard of my comedy, and was so condescending, or so polite, as to ask a reading of it. By this wish he highly gratified my mother; and this probably was his object, for I never heard more of the comedy. This able man, however, in my boyish days always treated me with great kindness.[4]

[1] In *Atheneum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines*, v. [1819], 321–323; vi. [1820], 358–360, called "the greatest dramatic genius of the age." Dispatches from various German cities detailing the assassination, in *Boston Weekly Messenger*, viii. 528, 530, 564. Kotzebue references in American magazines in S. H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846*, *University of Wisconsin Bulletin* (1907), iv. 247.

[2] The Boston edition, in Huntington Library, differs in pagination from the London edition of the same year, though Wilkens and Morgan call it a probable reprint. *The Constant Lover; or, William and Jeannette: a Tale* "From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, author of The Stranger, Lovers' Vows, Self-Immolation, Virgin of the Sun, &c. To which is prefixed, An Account of the Literary Life of the Author. Two volumes in one. Printed for Joseph Bumstead, Boston, 1799" (trans. anon.).

[3] I, vii. [4] Page viii.

It was later that Kotzebue out-Werthered Werther in a romance he believed "at the time, was nothing inferior to Goethe's" by having his hero precipitate himself "from the top of a high rock" and "dashed to pieces." A perceptive Leipzig publisher demanded that the author pay the rejection postage.[5] In *The Constant Lover*, which accompanied this account of a literary career, New Englanders were reading a narrative enlivened by Kotzebue with such dramatic interludes as:

JEANNETTE. O heavens! what is the matter with you? Rise!
WILLIAM. I cannot.
JEANNETTE. Why not?
WILLIAM. I have broke my leg.[6]

In an article on the dramatist in 1800 *The Columbian Phoenix and Boston Review* honored Weimar as "a city, which has long been considered as the most refined in Germany, as far as relates to the manners of the inhabitants." Its "seminary" was named the source of this refinement—an institution in which "extensive erudition" could be combined with polished manners "by a constant intercourse with the Court of the reigning Duke."[7] This view of Kotzebue as the flower of an elegant background was soon to be darkened and complicated by the attackers who stressed the corruption in ethics and in dramatic form carried by his plays.

Paine's demands in *The Orrery* for native playwrights take on ironical overtones in his having become identified with and having profited from the Boston première of *Lovers' Vows* and in the close consideration he gave to *Pizarro*. The surviving account of his own unfinished play suggests in the exotic setting, violent shifts of character, neo-heroic rodomontade, and victorious sentiment that Kotzebue's successful stage version of Peruvian affairs had left a mark.[8]

By 1802 the Boston theater was already old enough to allow brooding comparisons of present flaws with past strength. And Paine's writing on the state of the drama took on a new dimension. His earlier explorations of the problem of the artist in America were extended. His youthful optimism which had reflected post-Revolutionary national exuberance was tempered. The literary declaration of independence, which had followed

[5] Page ix. [6] Pages 25–26.

[7] *Columbian Phoenix and Boston Review* (June 1800), I. 365–366.

[8] The account of the proposed drama tells of Appenine scenery, an exiled Spanish prince, a lady of inferior rank but infinite virtue, a vengeful father, all involved in a Kotzebue-like climax: "Humanity saved his enemy; his enemy became his friend; and the divine impulses of friendship induced him to forego the rights of a conqueror." *Works*, lvii.

the political declaration signed by the senior Paine, had not brought the great, swift responses expected.

Paine's examination of the complex reasons for the delay was not softened by the glowing reception of his own effusions in verse. The beguiling public notion that his rhymes had bestowed immortality on George Washington could easily have blurred a lesser man's thinking or lulled him into a passive acceptance of his narrow world. Despite these eulogies he kept alert enough to see the implications of the growing industrialization and commercial power of America. The question of the missing true geniuses in contrast with the daily announcements of quick substitutes had become to Paine the question of the value his society placed on the arts and the relative rewards given writers and mechanics. Analysis of the obstacles to the theater and the drama led ultimately to this larger, disturbing issue. High-flown advertisements were insufficient in a setting where the preliminary development of potential applicants was impossible. These challenges of the American milieu were later to be reiterated into commonplaces by native critics. Far from accepting or guarding the status quo, Paine was very early in trying to move from the cultural ailment to its causes and in catching his own society in fundamental errors of attitude toward the artist:

> 'Tis pitiful, 'tis wondrous pitiful, that the appetite, it deserves not the name of passion, for "buying and selling, and getting gain," should "like Aaron's rod," have swallowed up all the nobler faculties of man, and the highest considerations of his intellectual existence. The fine and elegant arts are unnaturalized aliens; and useful literature is dwindling, like an exotic, through the negligence of cultivation. The humblest delver in mechanics, calculates on greater and more certain profits, and consequently, in our enlightened country, on higher honors, than the most ardent and successful literary adventurer![9]

He reminded the prosperous citizens that the "Senators of magisterial Rome in no wise derogated from their dignity when they suspended the duties of Empire, and mingled their imperial purple with the 'fat and greasy citizens,' to dwell with admiration and extacy [*sic*] on the comic powers of the fascinating Roscius."

Believing that interest in the drama was lagging and that the dreams of the seventeen nineties were being betrayed through public indifference, Paine asked for "a resuscitation of the public spirit of '93 and '94." Defining "the primary and essential object of a disciplined theatre" as "the dissemination of knowledge, the culture of taste," he remembered to

[9] *BG*, 18 February 1802.

salve the Puritan conscience with the eighteenth-century critical precept of "the depression of vice, and the illustration of morality" which might be accomplished by a vigorous theater. The guilt for the neglect of the drama he placed with the "ladies of fortune and fashion" and "the gentlemen of influence and station."

He attacked both the mental vacuity and the materialism of the leaders of Boston circles, into which he had been born. " 'Tis strange, 'tis passing strange that our fair ones should be more assiduous to decorate their bodies than embellish their minds; more attentive to the transparency of the glass, than the recondite springs of human action."[1] Paine had, just a week before expressing his indignation at his materialistic neighbors, gone to see the dramatic spectacle *Columbus; or, America Discovered* played "to boxes scarce of auditors." Seeing it for what it was, a scenic display of heroism with a factual plot, he was yet distressed at the lack of public support. Kotzebue fans might have recognized the exterior and interior views of the Temple of the Sun, the representation of volcanic eruptions, and the destruction of the Temple by an earthquake, all used in staging Morton's piece.[2]

At *Henry IV*, given shortly before the end of this season, Paine approved Bates's Falstaff for correctness of interpretation and the actor's avoidance of obvious stage devices: "The forced shuffle of low comedy, which actors are too apt to put on with their red stockings, was wholly lost in the majestic stride of those noble pedestals, which supported the incumbency of a whole Vicarage of Sack."[3] A critic, who signed himself "X.Y.," alternating with Paine in the dramatic section of *The Boston Gazette*, wrote in conciliatory and diffuse terms in contrast to the language of the lawyer who was now stealing time to see a number of plays. "X.Y." was given to raptures: "Magnificent scenery, winning by vision the mind from reflection; and impalpable deception, before whose airy charm Reason herself stands spellstopp'd."[4]

Late in 1802 and in the beginning of 1803, *Abaellino; or, The Great Bandit*, based on the Zschokke novel and play, *Abällino, der grosse Bandit*, attracted capacity houses. Dunlap's translation and adaptation was used, and Schiller was given confused credit for the original and for singular morality among German dramatists: "This Play is a translation or rather an imitation from the German of Schiller; and stands in point of moral sentiment, a solitary and honorable exception to the common charge against the lax virtue of the German drama." The play was interpreted

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *BG*, 11 February 1802. [3] *BG*, 17 May 1802.
[4] Review of *Harlequin Ranger*, *BG*, 7 March 1803.

as "a probe, to the crimes of ambitious profligates on whom the Social Sanction has lost its force and obligation." The local publication of the drama was also promoted under Schiller's name and the world-wide celebrity of his *Robbers*, which had come to Boston by 1798, earlier than any of Kotzebue's works.

As in the case of this Zschokke play attributed to Schiller, defensive assertions were accumulating when German works were brought forward; they were offered as rare individual exceptions to the general immorality of the German stage. A revival of Kotzebue's *Benyowsky* in 1803 was accompanied by praises for its being "at once natural and moral" and by regrets that "In these requisites the Germans do not often excel."

One of the most biting expressions of the opposition to the recent Germanic monopoly of the theater and of dramatic taste in Boston came in the verses Winthrop Sargent published the same season in which *Abaellino* incited such fervor:

> When German dulness triumphs o'er the age
> (By far more dull upon a stupid stage;)
> When sound and gewgaw take the place of sense;
> And Shakespeare gives the public ear offence,
> Taste is deprav'd; and all that we enjoy
> Are sensual pleasures of the ear and eye.
>
> Boston, in thee I view with filial fire,
> All that I hate, and much that I admire.

On the first night they saw Abaellino, the noble Venetian outlaw, the audience itself became a spectacle:

> During the performance of some of the principal scenes, a great portion of the boxes and pit rose from their seats, as if actuated by a sort of instinctive and curious speculation, which each one felt, but no one could readily describe. The mind had become impatient for the issue, and had roused itself to anticipate an event, the mystery of which had grown too interesting to refuse the relief of prophecy.[5]

Bostonians were still rising from their seats at *Abaellino* in January of the next year. The grand heroic pantomime, *Oscar and Malvina; or, The Hall of Fingal*, was less successful, although it did present "Oscar's Leap from a Tower 18 feet in Height."

[5] [Sargent], *Boston* (Boston, 1803). (Copy in Houghton Library.) *Re Abaellino*, *BG*, 19 and 22 November 1802. (Boston printing of Dunlap's *Abaellino* in 1802.)

Perhaps the greatest night during the season came at the benefit for the favorite actress, Mrs. Powell. She chose to do *The School for Scandal*, which had been off the boards for four years. This was followed by Colman's *Blue Beard*, which included in its effects "Two Elephants as large as life." Pit, green boxes, and gallery were overflowing, and about two hundred people were turned away disappointed. The following summer, when the theater opened for a special celebration of Independence Day, one Bostonian remarked that in New York a native playwright had managed to write a drama for July fourth, *The Glory of Columbia*. Envy led to the reprimand that "with similar encouragement in this town, the genius of New England would be stimulated to a similar exertion."[6] *The Glory of Columbia* was William Dunlap's *André* in patriotic garb. The hope for a native drama still was alive.

By late 1803 Paine deserted the law and gave most of his time to writing on the theater and to fascinating the remarkable actress, Mrs. Jones.[7] Paine's second major farewell to Boston respectability began in October with Mrs. Jones's reappearance after a theatrical absence of three years. Although her "air of madness" as Ophelia in New York could throw John Howard Payne into a state of "melting melancholy,"[8] she was also "the first Comic Actress in America." She was triumphant as Peggy in Garrick's *Country Girl*, "exhibiting . . . rural cunning with a simple poignant archness."[9] As Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice* she was a "little syren."[1] In 1806 Londoners were informed in a communiqué on the state of the American theater that this stage hoyden and siren was the reigning comedy queen on the other side of the Atlantic.[2]

When Paine began his affair with Mr. Jones's wife, he took care as critic to give due appreciation to the wronged husband's talents, saying the actor had made "strides towards a very high pitch of excellence" and "trebled his estimation in the public mind."[3] Paine had earlier praised Mr. Jones's spirit as Alonzo confronting Pizarro, though he had noted

[6] *BG*, 13 January, 2 May, 4 July 1803. See Coad, *William Dunlap*, 171–173.

[7] Paine's relationship with his father and his clients had been passable in 1802. When Paine, senior, was in Worcester that year, the son wrote him about fever conditions in Boston and told of a grandchild just recovered from illness. Ms. letter signed "Your obedient son," Boston, 30 September 1802 (MHS).

[8] *Thespian Mirror* (New York, 1805), XI. 89.

[9] *Boston Weekly Magazine*, 11 February 1804, 63; *BG*, 17 October and 3 November 1803.

[1] *BG*, 12 December 1803.

[2] *The Monthly Mirror*, signed "N.Y., 1805" by "Terence."

[3] *BG*, 3 November 1803.

that the actor sometimes executed "indifferently." In a delicate understatement one stage historian described this triangle as "domestic disquiet" entering the "dwelling" of Mrs. Jones.[4] When Paine died, much was blamed on the affair. The "enthralment" was called a "death blow to all his fair prospects and to all his professional exertions."[5] With her four children Mrs. Jones left her spellbinding in New England to make a triumphant New York appearance by 27 November 1805. Her husband left her and went to act in Charleston. After she died of consumption at the age of twenty-four,[6] Mrs. Inchbald's *Every One has His Fault*, with its echoes of *Lovers' Vows*, was appropriately chosen for the Boston theater benefit for her orphans.

In the season of 1803–1804 Paine gave a retrospect of the ups and downs of the theater since its beginnings:

> In the history of our Theatre, such an example had before existed; but there has been a gloomy interval of some years, during which the violent irritation of contending interests was succeeded by a woeful debility both of taste and patronage. This period was the dark age of the drama; her fables were deemed profane; her charms were sorcery. Or, rather comparing the attraction of the scene, both before and since that period, it seems to have been connected with the stage, by accident, but without having any relation to its interests—like a blank leaf between two plays bound in one volume, without deriving wit or sentiment from either of its neighbours. This digression will be pardoned by those, who feel as we do, an unmixed pleasure in the revival of theatrical taste, and the bounty with which the town encourages the efforts of talent.[7]

In the very moment of seeming success Paine refused to consider that whatever was, was right in the theatrical world. He now delivered some of his most astringent comments on stage conditions, and gave a healthy and strong criticism which might prolong the life and meaning of the institution in which he so firmly believed. Stressing the limitations of the florid declamatory style, he saw its consequences as rigidity and lack of unity in the presentation of the play as a whole. Fundamental to his criticism was the idea of fidelity to the entire dramatic conception. Declaiming players were threatened with a chilly audience:

> . . . such an actor, we say, holds a broken "mirror up to nature," and shows no

[4] T. Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage* (New York, 1870), 197.

[5] Ms. letter from Selfridge, Boston, 7 December 1811 (MHS). We have been unable to find any comment from Eliza Baker Paine.

[6] George C. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), II. 247.

[7] *BG*, 28 November 1803.

"form and pressure" but of his own monstrous absurdity and arrogance. In such cases, the image of life becomes as preternatural and distorted, as Fuseli's night-fiend. . . . The family of Thespis ought to know that of all the beauties of dramatic exhibition, there is none so impressive, nor so universally noticed, as the preservation of the integrity of the fiction. Want of strict attention to this principle is sure to mar a scene—perhaps a play. —in such cases, too, the actor is sometimes punished by the mortifying gravity of the audience, who sit bomb-proof against the cannonade of his eloquence, and seem as fixed and motionless as the head of one of the Caesars, chiselled by a Stonecutter.[8]

Paine watched a fresh George Barnwell in 1803, Mrs. Whitlock's son. The young actor had neglected to learn his part, and Barnwell seemed "like a fine child, stolen away by Gypsies, and stained with walnut juice to prevent detection."[9] For another favorite play Paine put in a request, which was granted; he wanted to see John Bernard as Sir Peter in *The School for Scandal.* Bernard was to Paine a first-rate as opposed to a low comedian. His precision "gently touched in the correct shadowings of his execution," and inspired Paine to an essay on the problems of discrimination in stage clowning.[1] The younger Colman's *John Bull* was a hit of the season, a comedy complete with the "sententious moralist, the 'wit-cracking' Hibernian, the embarrassed lover, the Bond-street beau, the honest brazier and feeling father, the simple, lovely daughter and the lady of fashion."[2]

Writing in 1803 and 1804 under his pseudonym of Macklin, thus recalling Garrick's contemporary who was a critic of actors, an actor, and author of the popular *Man of the World,* Paine was recognized by his contemporaries as a critic powerful enough "to direct the current of public taste, and raise the stage to that degree of consideration . . . it is entitled to receive from those who have claims on taste and fashion."[3] Allingham's *Marriage Promise* was performed on 24 February 1804, and Paine found it wanting in strength and sparkle: "This comedy, on the whole, may be arranged, among the grades of the dramas as a pleasant, interesting, moral play—exhibiting more of grace than of vigor, and more of playfulness than of wit."[4] *Cheap Living,* applauded warmly as any play of that season, Paine declared to be no more than a piece of "slight but

[8] *BG,* 3 November 1803.
[9] *BG,* 24 October and 8 December 1803. (*Works,* 397.)
[1] *BG,* 14 and 21 November 1803. (Only second section reprinted in *Works,* 396.)
[2] *BG,* 28 November 1803.
[3] *BG,* 5 December 1803.
[4] *BG,* 27 February 1804.

showy texture." The title was singularly appropriate for "a festival of humor" applied "to garnish an unexceptionable fable."[5]

The same February, *Pizarro*, with Barrett as Rolla and the unlucky Mr. Jones as Alonzo, was repeated and the play dismissed as "too long and too familiarly known to the public, to attract a numerous audience."[6] But leading actors and actresses were still including key Kotzebue parts in their offerings in 1805 and 1806. Thomas Abthorpe Cooper, who had been the first Stranger and the first Frederick ever seen in New York, was playing Rolla in Boston in March of 1805, and a lengthy discussion of the play was issued in the fall of the next year.[7] Rolla was lightly coupled with Lear in a theatrical verse in *Polyanthos*.[8] Alonzo and Cora with her child appeared as a prize example of conjugal and maternal affection in the "Beauties of the Drama" section of *The Boston Times*,[9] for which Paine wrote some of his best essays on the drama. The Kotzebue dialogue chosen involved Cora's dream that the child had cut a tooth, and might have given pause to the champions as well as to the opponents of the theater. In the spring of 1807 when Mrs. Poe was romping over the Boston stage as Priscilla Tomboy, *The Stranger* was challenged by one Oliver Oakley, to whom "the moral of the play" afforded "but little gratification."[1]

Kotzebue's status as a literary authority in forms other than the drama persisted both by means of reprints of his own prose, such as *The Most Remarkable Year of My Life*, and by means of the use of his name as a sanction in the introduction of better writers. Employing Kotzebue as a kind of reference, *The Boston Times*, as late as 1808, devoted six installments to the life and works of Musaeus. This series led off with "A Short Sketch of the Life and Character of the Learned and Excellent Musaeus. By

[5] *BG*, 15 March 1804.

[6] *Boston Weekly Magazine*, 25 February 1804.

[7] Mrs. Stanley (the Honorable Mrs. Twisleton) played Elvira to Caulfield's Rolla. *BG*, 3 November 1806. *Re* American début of *The Stranger* see *The American Theatre as Seen by Its Critics, 1752–1934*, ed. Moses and Brown (New York, 1934), 27.

[8] Carpenter's Epilogue to White's *Foscari* spoken by Mrs. Whitlock, *Poly*, April 1806, 58. On 30 November 1807 Mrs. Warren played Elvira "to a large and fashionable audience," says Clapp, 91. Miss Brunton, Mrs. Merry, Mrs. Wignell, Mrs. Warren, all same actress. See Bernard, 72, note.

[9] *BT*, 26 December 1807, 9. See Thackeray on Fotheringay's Cora: "She had not much to do in her part, but to look handsome, and stand in picturesque attitudes encircling her child . . ." (*Pendennis*, 1. 185).

[1] *Poly*, April 1807, 64. Typical comment of period in *Comet*, 14 December 1811, 100: "This play, though immoral in its tendency, is nevertheless very interesting."

his Pupil Kotzebue." The playwright told how astonished the literati of Weimar had been to discover a Swift in their midst in the author of *The Physiognomical Travels*. Kotzebue also dwelt on the techniques Musaeus used in gathering folk material for his tales.

The large subject of German literature was bandied about on the basis of a relatively meager or one-sided knowledge of its real offerings. The ramifications of Kotzebue's initial popularity in New England at the turn of the century may be traced through the years following in a journal of cultural interests, *The Emerald*. The taking in vain of Shakespeare's name had brought vigorous reactions by July 1806:

> When I mark the popular preference of German lead to British gold; when I see men flock to the theatre at the introduction of Schiller and Kotzebue, but leave the seats empty at the entrance of Shakespeare, as were those of the Roman senate at the entrance of Cataline, as if the company of either were equally disgraceful; my blood boils; I could rend the dome with imprecations—I quit the house in disgust and exclaim, as I pass through the door, *Odi profanum vulgus;* I hate the mob.[2]

The day before this Horatian explosion appeared, two local poets had celebrated the fourth of July in song. In his rousing rhymes Paine, one of the bards injected "pilgrim Keels" and an assurance of an America replete with honors, a conviction which was absent in his criticism. His lines were sung to the tune, "Whilst happy in my native land." The other song writer, Samuel Woodworth, best known for his "Old Oaken Bucket," twined laurel around Washington's brow, and exulted:

> Then let mad Europe blush to see,
> That Peace can dwell with Liberty.[3]

"Mad Europe" was, however, steadily becoming more familiar territory to Boston readers. That same July they had a choice of Kotzebue's *Travels through Italy in 1804 and 1805* or Holcroft's *Travels from Hamburg, through Westphalia, Holland, and the Netherlands to Paris*. Among the circulating poets, Gessner's *Idyls* were still available as was Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. They could browse through four volumes of the *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* or the *Memoirs of Talleyrand*.[4] A New England Adams and a future President had already explored Silesia,

[2] *E*, 5 July 1806, 109. *E* conducted by Joshua Belcher and Samuel T. Armstrong until turned over to Oliver C. Greenleaf in October 1807.

[3] *Poly*, July 1806, Paine's song and Woodworth's Ode, 275–278. (Paine's reprinted in *Works*, 272–273.)

[4] Boston Union Circulating Library List, July 1806.

although the Philadelphia *Port Folio* had been the first to publish his observations.[5]

Emerald columns of memorable literary reflections included Kotzebue's broodings on such matters as Seneca and grief. His observations of Naples were reprinted. The success of the plays had elevated him to the role of world thinker and traveller. Another German honored was Gellert, with a sizable translation, "The Wisdom of Providence," in the "original poetry" section. And Wieland was given an editorial nod as well as an extract: "We have often been surprised that the *Oberon* of Wieland, translated by Sotheby [*sic*] was not better known among us. The copy is scarce and not even to be found in our circulating libraries."[6]

Morton's popular *Speed the Plough,* playing on 13 October 1806, was hailed as a salutary turn against the tide of German drama. The author was admired for liberating the English stage from "German importations, of character without consistency,—and sentiment without virtue" and for reconciling "the favors of the German stage, by abruptness and mystery, but not by immorality and licentiousness. . . ." Functions of dramatic art came into the discussions. The precepts of "moral purpose" or "moral tendency" were violated, it was claimed, by the bringing of German plays to the English stage—"inasmuch as their stories are generally founded on some crime committed, which for the good of society ought never to be forgiven, but which the catastrophe seldom fails to extenuate."[7]

Schiller was occasionally emerging as superior to his popular countryman, with whom he had been loosely ranked in American commentary. Biographical sketches of Schiller in *The Emerald* said that his soul was "panting for liberty" in *The Robbers,* that he "united German industry with the elegance of the ancients," and that "instigated by Reinhold" he indefatigably studied the criticism of Kant.[8] The fragmentary knowledge and secondhand accounts led to fat generalizations in notices on intellectual pursuits in Germany. Simultaneously with word that Kotzebue's crown

[5] *Port Folio,* 1 January 1801. See Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle,* 141–142.

[6] *E,* 7 March 1807, 118; 3 May 1806, 11; 28 March 1807, 149. Kotzebue's platitudinous remarks on various aspects of life were frequent inserts in other journals. By 1820 there were Boston excerpts from "A Mr. Muchler at Berlin" who "extracted from 107 works of Kotzebue, a collection of 905 thoughts, observations, &c. which will doubtless be very popular" (*E. Athenaeum,* VI. 358).

[7] *E,* 18 October 1806, 296; 25 October 1806, 304 (review of *Lovers' Vows*). *Speed the Plough* first played in 1800.

[8] "A brief sketch of the life of Frederic Schiller, the German Dramatist; condensed from the Monthly Magazine," *E,* 24 May 1806, 41; 31 May 1806, 53.

was slipping and that Lavater had been supplanted by Dr. Gall, came news that Kant had had his day, complete with a warning against the dangers of philosophy:

Kant is not hurled or fallen suddenly from his throne, but is gradually sinking into oblivion, so that his name is now almost as seldom mentioned as that of the *Summus Aristoteles*. The difficulty, and even the danger, attending the study of the higher branches of philosophy and metaphysics, has become more and more evident; and the number of metaphysical writers seems to have again decreased in Germany.[9]

Statistics were safer than metaphysics. A "literary and philosophical" announcement calculated "new literary works by nations" for 1805 with England at 800, France 1150, and Germany "not less than 4685." The American editor was either wistful or impressed in emphasizing that in the German output "there are only 63 novels." No figures were given for America.[1]

Another New England magazine, *The Polyanthos*, printed "Some Account of Gellert," in which the movement of eighteenth-century Germany was traced from "little notice from the rest of Europe" to "a distinguished rank in the republick of letters."[2] This rapid rise in world esteem could be especially inspiring to an American editor. Germany was, however, warned against the notion that she could claim "an absolute pre-eminence" in literature and firmly reminded that she still had work to do to reach that level.

By the next year a reprint appeared of the Abbé Raynal's comparisons of the virtues of various tongues. Italian was named the language of poetry and music, French of prose, truth, and reason, English of ideas, and Spanish the noble support of Cervantes and Mariana. The role allotted to German might dizzy a modern philologist:

The German is the most ancient of all our living languages. . . . She gave birth to the English and even to the French by a mixture with the Latin. But, ill-formed for the eye, and for the more delicate organs, it has continued in the mouths of the speakers without presuming till lately to appear in volumes. Its dearth of writers announced a country unfavourable to the fine arts, to poetry and to eloquence. But genius has suddenly soared from her groves, and a variety of original Poets now dispute the palm with other nations.[3]

[9] *E*, 6 December 1806, 382.

[1] *E*, 15 November 1806, 347.

[2] *Poly*, June 1806, 153–157 [Theatrical Recorder].

[3] "Character of the Principal European Languages," *E*, 17 October 1807, 500.

If German groves had produced unusual flights, so could local ones. Paine became the American epic poet in *The Emerald*. He had, after all, celebrated America's political gods "at a time when the whole continent was emulous of distinction for the combination of patriotic sentiments with poetic inspiration. . . ." But his work on less inspiring levels was considered a matter for serious regret. Although his verses were "like those of Homer recited by every tongue," he had wasted himself "in humble connexions" and had fallen to "local topics and the politics of the day." His theatrical pioneering was presumably one of the lowly "local topics."[4]

The same year that German was presented as the tool of a variety of new geniuses and given such a motherly role among languages, there were biting comments on the blasphemies carried by this same historical tongue. The "familiar use of sacred expressions, as well as the Atheism of 'Osmond' in Monk Lewis' *Castle Spectre*" were claimed to "speak forcibly the intimacy of the author with German literature."[5] The guilt involved form as well as content. The opposing forces were distinguished as the native wit and nature of Shakespeare and Garrick versus strained sentiment and affected delicacy. The German drama was named the culpable ally of the enemy forces which overcame pure comedy and tragedy with "the monsters of melodrama, farce and tragi-comedy." Morton, Lewis, Colman, and Cumberland were marshalled as the dramatists "inoculated with the virus of German composition."[6] The denigration of a barely known group of German dramatists had been stimulated by over familiarity with one playwright of that country and with his British borrowers. The commentaries are ambivalent, with curiosity about and tribute to the impressive rise of Germany in literature on the one hand and, on the other, attacks on the poor samples of that literature which were most apparent in Boston.

When *The Rovers* was reprinted in Buckingham's Bostonian periodical, *The Ordeal*, in May of 1809, it was introduced as an exposé of "the system of German composition, and even of the Melo-Drama, a species of writing infinitely more ridiculous." The original notes in *The Anti-Jacobin* which underlined particular targets were enlarged upon in New

[4] "Genius and Poetry," *E*, 25 July 1807, 359.

[5] *E*, 24 January 1807, 42.

[6] *E*, new series (15 October 1808), I. 620. See George Bancroft's later accusation that Kotzebue substituted for "the springs of pure and uncorrupted feeling . . . the strange, the unexpected, the extravagant" and imitated "humanity most abominably." (Review of Taylor's *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, III, in *American Quarterly Review* [September 1831], X. 194–210.)

England. In the *Ordeal* commentary the prevailing "sentiment" of German plays was claimed to have "a bad tendency." *Cabal and Love* was mentioned in *The Anti-Jacobin;* the *Ordeal* discussion was extended to make this Schiller play a glaring instance of minute stage direction and of more serious faults:

> A ludicrous example of an introduction of circumstances which have no agency in promoting the progress of a fable, and which when mixed with serious contemplations, destroys their effect; and renders the whole ridiculous. . . . So in *Cabal and Love,* Ferdinand, after a rhapsody about the seraphick sweetness of Louisa, asks her the great question on which his happiness or misery depends —"Didst thou write that letter?"

One note, not in the original *Anti-Jacobin,* is a grandiose sweeping together of Kotzebue and his betters: "See the plays of Kotzebue and Schiller, almost universally." The *Ordeal* tried to foster some fairness in the attack by the idea that certain German literary obsessions were shared by other nations: "The sympathy, which some writers bestow on the characters they describe, is truly astonishing. It is not peculiar to Kotzebue and Schiller, but to modern English novelists, and various other authors."[7]

The Rovers, as a careful German study has shown, is a satire against Goethe, Schiller, and Kotzebue, against German "Sturm und Drang."[8] Recently Edmund Wilson has called it a "burlesque of Schiller." A long road in the history of the American theater and criticism lies between the *Ordeal*'s use of and comment on the British satire of German drama and Wilson's attack on that satire as "aggressively Philistine . . . slapstick and uninventive."[9] Kotzebue scenes were fresh memories and miseries to Joseph Tinker Buckingham, the *Ordeal* editor who enjoyed the parody and who had himself been a temporary actor with the Boston company which performed *Alexander the Great, Romeo and Juliet, The Mountain-*

[7] *O,* 13 and 20 May 1809, 290, 291, 293, 307, 392. The blasphemous grouping went on until a Boston review of *The Stranger* as "a piece of snivelling vice cringing to affected virtue" could say its style "is a libel on the names of such men as Goethe and Schiller, to call German." (*Dramatic Mirror,* 12 February 1829) Original *Rovers; or, The Double Arrangement* in *Anti-Jacobin; or, Weekly Examiner,* 4 June 1798, 236–239; 11 June 1798, 242–246. (British concern with error *re* "American War" in *Cabal and Love,* 237.) *Rovers* reprinted in *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin,* ed. L. Rice-Oxley (Oxford, 1924), xxx.

[8] Alexander Flohr in *Die Satire, The Rovers; or, The Double Arrangement,* Weimar, 1907 (Diss. Greifswald) indicates the specific German targets for the British attacks.

[9] "George Saintsbury: Gourmet and Glutton" in *Classics and Commercials* (New York, 1951), 369–370.

eers, Blue Beard, Abaellino, and *Count Benyowsky* in Salem and Providence in the summer of 1803.[1]

As the roles of Mrs. Haller and Rolla became staples in the theatrical repertoire of the time, the reactions against their creator accumulated, bringing an odd mixture of fact and fancy. Kotzebue's German betters were prejudged in a process of literary guilt by association. Ardent supporters of the drama and the stage who turned against Kotzebue found themselves ironically involved in employing the arguments of the opposition. The eighteenth-century critical concept of the theater as a school of ethics and instruction in social behavior was prolonged by the rebellion.

Such plays as *The Stranger* added to critical and creative confusion over dramatic genres. In the "tragedy" of *Pizarro* earlier tendencies to spectacle had reached an elaborate consummation with characterization deceptively entangled in stage machinery. The declamatory style of acting, the "big bow-wow" elocution which Paine fought against, had been encouraged in such roles as Frederick, Elvira, and Rolla. Hasty translations, made with an eye to quick receipts from a playwright whose originals leave something to be desired stylistically, did little to stimulate high standards for dramatic language in audience or playwrights. The perplexities of critics as to foreign versus native literature had only been multiplied. The Kotzebue era in New England is less a case of direct influence on American drama, which cannot be proved, than a case of indirect complications of the issue of culture and morality and the forming of attitudes toward the literary output of a foreign country.

A pattern in cultural relationships was being drawn well before 1810 —the preference for the saccharine in and a distrust of the ethics purveyed by German literature. This distrust preceded the vexations both of those American theologians who were to be shaken by the enthusiasm of some of their transcendental countrymen for the work of German thinkers and of those later writers who found in Goethe's late marriage and his heroes a painful immorality. William Dean Howells' concern over Goethe's character and characters is a haunting echo of much earlier outbursts of anxiety in New England over the bad principles deviously propagated by German drama:

> There is a kind of thing—a kind of metaphysical lie against righteousness and common-sense—which is called the Unmoral, and is supposed to be different from the Immoral; and it is this which is supposed to cover many of the faults of Goethe. His Wilhelm Meister, for example, is so far removed within the

[1] Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs,* II. 51–52 (note). Account of starting *Ordeal* with Benjamin Pollard, 62–63.

region of the "ideal" that its unprincipled, its evil-principled, tenor in regard to women is pronounced "unmorality," and is therefore inferably harmless. But no study of Goethe is complete without some recognition of the qualities which caused Wordsworth to hurl the book across the room with an indignant perception of its sensuality. For the sins of his life Goethe was perhaps sufficiently punished in his life by his final marriage with Christiane; for the sins of his literature many others must suffer.[2]

The popular theatrical taste of the turn of the century and its aftermath may be one source of the critical biases and literary diet of later generations. The persistent nineteenth-century American sentimentalizing of Germany mingled with suspicions of the morals of her greatest writers may be traced in part to the tearful triumphs of Kotzebue and the reaction against him, which coalesced into repeated warnings of the dangerous immorality which might emanate from German works. This may be a clue to, rather than a full explanation of, the subsequent preference for such Germans as Auerbach on one level and Eugenie John, alias E. Marlitt, on another. The journalistic furor engendered by Kotzebue at the very end of the eighteenth century affected the reception and rejections of his more intrinsically significant countrymen. The best to be said for his sojourn among the Bostonians is that he was inadvertently involved in the awakening, with whatever confusions, of a provincial consciousness to the offerings of a European nation whose own struggle for literary independence was still fairly recent history in 1800.

VI

Players, Critics, and Playwrights

Acting is an art exalted in the writing of America's early theatrical observers. This concentration on players over plays came partly from the fact that great contemporary dramatists were conspicuously missing both in England and America at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. Playwrights like Kotzebue and his British and American translators and riflers had given richer opportunities to managers and to players than to hopeful literary critics. Throughout the first decade of the Boston theater Paine had watched a range of actors. He had seen gifted ones casually spent by managers in inferior plays. And he had seen first-rate plays marred by feeble performers. Actors and actresses had bemoaned to him the transitory nature of an art which too often de-

[2] W. D. Howells, *Criticism and Fiction* (New York, 1892), 86–87.

pended for its record on human memory and for its encouragement on popular whim.

The conviction that American players as well as German plays were inevitably depraved had remained unshaken in the minds of many Bostonians. Occasional articles stressed the irreproachable family life of upright exceptions in the theatrical world. Blamelessness protested too much suggests the fundamental attitude. Paine was conscious of giving both the account and the defense of an art. He insisted that the best author's work might "perish by stage suffocation, or totter to death in a rickety representation. What is wit without its conductor?"[3] In his last series of dramatic essays he was happily concerned with Shakespeare and with the critical controversy over the respective merits of two of the leading actors then on the American stage, Thomas Abthorpe Cooper and James Fennell.[4]

These essays appeared in *The Boston Times,* established in 1807 with its frivolous purposes openly declared by the editor. Without a moral tremor, it was announced that *The Times* intended neither instruction nor reform, but was addressed to Bostonians "who perhaps in a leisure half-hour might be glad to meet with a small portion to beguile them of themselves."[5] The drama was included as a fitting part of the light-minded periodical.

Paine's reviewing for 1808 began with an attack on quibbling critics who focused on detail at the expense of the whole play and actors who were impeccable in minutiae but uninspired in their total conception. Orthoëpy was often uppermost in the minds of theatrical critics of the time. Paine scorned these writers who gave "elaborate dissertation[s] on points of effect, which the author never conceived, or a stop-watch lecture, from the doctrine of pauses, on the differences between a comma and a colon." To Paine the deadly result of this obsessive correctness was emotional chill. He preferred "a scenic explosion" to the pomposity of acting which "cannot kindle upon any occasion."[6]

The rival claims of Cooper and Fennell were a favorite topic among theatergoers, not only in Boston but in New York and Philadelphia. The

[3] First appeared under Paine's Macklin signature in *BG,* 8 December 1803 (*Works,* 400). See also "The Rights of the Players" in Buckingham's *Comet,* 7 December 1811, 91: "What right has he whose imagination in its most daring flights never soared above the shelf which contains the ledger and waste book, to insult and put to confusion the player. . . ."

[4] See Joseph N. Ireland, *Life of Thomas Abthorpe Cooper* (New York, 1888) and Fennell, *Apology for the Life of James Fennell* (Philadelphia, 1814).

[5] *BT,* 12 December 1807, 1.

[6] *BT,* 23 January 1808, 27 (*Works,* 353ff.).

differences in their conceptions and deliveries of character and the attempt to define those differences were a great stimulus to the increasing number of those who called themselves thespian mirrors, dramatic registrars, or theatrical censors. Conceivably many spectators liked the two equally well, but most of the records were left by those who took a stand. Paine chose Cooper, who had made a triumphal entry on the Boston stage well before 1808, having come first in 1798 and again in 1805 and 1806.

Cooper's 1805 visit had caused a near riot, partly instigated by the professional jealousy of the regular members of the Boston company. Lately returned from England to America, Cooper had enjoyed successful runs in Philadelphia and New York. There had been a public demand for his appearance in Boston, a demand interpreted by a writer in the *Boston Gazette* as an instance of the high level of local taste. The performers, however, were less hospitable, and the manager of the theater was told on the morning of 6 March 1805 that a group had formed to create "a Riot at the Theatre this evening, and had appointed a Committee to purchase tickets to be distributed among hired partizans, in various parts of the House." In his alarm the manager closed the theater, thereby sparing "the friends of decorum" a painful experience. The jealousies were financially placated, and Cooper appeared in Boston for the whole of the next season.[7]

Memories of these earlier appearances and of the excitement they caused only heightened the anticipation of seeing Cooper perform again. Going in late January of 1808 to see the tragedian in a comedy, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,* Paine scrutinized Cooper in the Beaumont and Fletcher play and continued as the actor's critical advocate. Among descriptions of Cooper which have survived, there are few so vivid as Paine's. He caught in prose the movement and speech of the performer and the passing impressions and sensations experienced in a Boston theater a century and a half ago. Other theatergoers knew and some published the fact that there were many variations in the character Cooper took on as Leon in *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.* The audience burst suddenly into applause at one point when the actor made a quick and beautiful transition. Of the moment when Cooper began to reveal the true character of Leon, falling back immediately into assumed rusticity, Paine wrote, "For the moment the plot glimmered, but was suddenly hooded again."[8]

Mirroring Cooper's achievement from scene to scene, Paine could also define and evaluate his acting as a whole. In this renowned tragedian,

[7] R. Cooper's visit, *BG*, 7 March, 8, 15, 25 April 1805.

[8] *BT*, 30 January 1808, 30–31 (*Works*, 357ff.).

the critic found "nature" and inspiration, the emotional spontaneity and range he demanded of great actors. Cooper was in some respects the answer to Paine's search for an actor whose performances were unmarred by false declamation or an obsession with the smallest details of emphasis and pronunciation. The ability to pronounce words correctly was not enough to produce the kind of acting America needed. Paine knew that with elaborate research Cooper could "be caught tripping" at times. Yet it was better to blaze than to bore, and the critic announced himself for Cooper:

> The general complexion of his acting is engrained with more of nature, and less of the schools, than most of his contemporaries; for though he is well disciplined in the "artifice of speech," it is his second ambition to be laboriously correct, when passion stimulates the bounding nerve to overleap the dogmas of pedantry. The high supremacy of description over narration, constitutes, says Lord Kaimes [*sic*], the pre-eminence of Shakespeare over Corneille and Racine. The difference is that of history and life. The mind pays homage to chronicles, but the eye is enraptured with pictures. The canvass breathes, while the parchment only records.[9]

Cooper was to Paine an instance of the triumph of the natural over the artificial style which the critic had attacked in 1804.

Hotspur caused more lively debate than had Leon. Before Cooper uttered Harry Percy's first words in *Henry IV*, sides had been taken. And almost anyone who professed an interest in acting or in the drama had an opinion to submit after the final curtain. That night of 3 February 1808 Paine concentrated on two characters in the play, and of the two he watched Hotspur even more closely than he did Harwood's Falstaff. Again the house was crowded for Shakespeare and for Cooper.

As the audience left the theater, the verdicts ranged from the belief that Cooper was the world's greatest Hotspur to the conviction that he was totally miscast. Paine objected to the loose talk and subsequent writing; he respected Shakespeare as much as he did Cooper. Unusual among the judges, he considered how well Cooper projected the dramatist's intention and conception. Thus fusing theatrical and dramatic criticism, Paine measured the image Cooper gave by Shakespeare's characterization:

> The indignant spirit that could not cower to insult, the proud honour of old English nobility, emblazoned with the trophies of fame, yet sullied with the rashness of courage; the impetuous and unfaltering avowal of his adherence to the unfortunate Mortimer, and the ambitious visions of the aspiring rebel,

[9] *Ibid.*

goaded by royal ingratitude, and writhing at the touch of disgrace; were all strikingly disposed in the character, and embodied in the fore-ground of the picture. His excellence was generally that of Hotspur himself;—of so rapid a march, that we have no time to transfuse his manner into a quotation.[1]

The rivalry reached its pitch when Cooper and Fennell appeared together in *Othello*, alternating in the leading roles of that play. The two famous actors were thus deliberately set in opposition before the public. Paine could not remember any time when "the publick curiosity" had been so stimulated as by this "collision of talent." It was no longer enough to classify Fennell as the scholar and elocutionist and Cooper as a theatrical child of nature. Cooper was more impressive physically, but he too had sufficient erudition to complicate the matter of judgment.

Paine avoided the generalities and trivia being echoed about the two actors, and analyzed them in great scenes. The address to the senate was one testing ground. In the progress of that scene Cooper excelled at one moment, Fennell at another. At the time of Desdemona's growing love, Cooper was "modest and tender." Fennell "ranted in a tone of exaltation and triumph, as it were at the success of his romantick fable over the simple mind of Desdemona." Both failed at "Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore." Cooper's voice cracked through an overambitious attempt; Fennell, erring through caution, "wanted fire." Cooper, in the falconry speech, vivified his lines by effective stage business, whereas Fennell made an "irrelevant gesture." In a typically penetrating comment, Paine accused both actors of being "equally deficient in the necessary scenick preparation of mind and action, to give effect, or sense to, 'It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul.' "[2]

When it came to Iago, Cooper was accorded Paine's "unequivocal preference." Fennell, who for all his scholarship had been careless with the text of Kotzebue's Rolla on 26 February, made the part of Iago an opportunity for his usual impeccable recitation. But the critic found the actor's countenance and figure insufficient for the part. More important, the character of Iago had not been integrated with "the other persons of the drama." Cooper triumphed because his scenes "were more deeply imbued with discrimination, 'form and pressure,' " and because he truly related Iago to the course of the entire tragedy of Othello.[3]

Foreseeing perhaps that this was to be his last period of sustained work

[1] *BT*, 6 February 1808, 35 (*Works*, 366ff.).
[2] Cooper and Fennell as Othello, *BT*, 27 February 1808, 47 (*Works*, 377ff.).
[3] Cooper and Fennell as Iago, *BT*, 5 March 1808, 51 (*Works*, 384ff.).

for the theater, Paine vehemently expressed his keen concern with the state of criticism itself. An impetus had been given to theatrical commentary by the Cooper-Fennell rivalry. The field had been enlarged, and from the competent and the dull alike came dicta on the stage. At stake, as Paine saw it, were the ideals of criticism. The pretenders were not likely to accord justice to real genius. Criticism sunk to a dilettante amusement would lose meaning and power. Also, the new race of theatrical virtuosos tended to be noisy in the theater. With the proprietary attitude of one who had pioneered in an activity now become commonplace, Paine attacked the offenders:

> . . . that fashionable affectation, that most excellent foppery of taste, which has of late usurped the balance and rod of criticism, among our full grown babes of learning, who have suddenly become commentators of playing, by going to school at thirty to learn their mother tongue; and have formed an intimate acquaintance with authors, by spelling their names on labels at the backs of their volumes! Without knowing the distinction in terms between pronunciation, emphasis, and reflecion, yet with the aid of a little effrontery in a side box, and a well-committed rosary of words, which they use in succession without choice or connexion, they acquire a frothy reputation for classical wisdom, which at once gives tone and circulation to their opinions, throughout the wide range of the shallow profundity of polite life![4]

This barrage incited attempts to identify individual targets. Paine replied publicly to those who had misconstrued his words. One insinuation made by his enemies really concerned him. That was the rumor that he was attacking, among others, the dramatic critic who wrote for *The Emerald*. This was one contemporary whom Paine respected, and for good reason, for he represented exactly what Paine demanded of a good critic—talent, learning, and a familiarity with the best models of his art. Into his compliment to this fellow critic he put a sad awareness of working only at the beginning of a long development yet to be achieved in America: "although the American stage be at present but an imperfect image, he neglects not to display the graces he discerns, even in the trunk of a statue."[5] In paying tribute to another, Paine had written an excellent epitaph for himself.

The degradation of criticism into a fashionable pastime claimed the attention of another writer for *The Boston Times* who ironically laid down precepts for the would-be critic of the theater. He bitterly advised that "the best way, is to borrow your observations from some person, who

[4] *BT*, 13 February 1808, 39 (*Works*, 373). [5] *BT*, 20 February 1808, 43.

has already written on the same play," and added that it would be very convenient to copy the remarks of Mrs. Inchbald. This exposition of the art of criticism announced that it was not at all necessary to have been present at the representation, since the critique was usually printed before the performance. The helpful suggestion was included that it was a time-saving device to copy from earlier newspaper criticism.[6]

Paine tried, with occasional lapses, to live up to his own motto of setting down naught in malice. As an advocate of Cooper's he could still detect flaws in his performances, and, on the other hand, the excellences possessed by Fennell. He scorned "the petulant puerility, and bombastick nonsense of some of Mr. Fennell's admirers." Paine was "convinced that Mr. Fennell himself would most willingly exchange the panegyrick of such leading-string scribblers for their abuse." It was more than the fatal combination of ignorance and quibbling to which he objected. Poor writing, Paine worried, was barring criticism from the status of a serious pursuit. He said of a "buckram style" admirer of Fennell's:

> One of these sesquipedalian witlings has rifled Johnson's Rambler of all its verbal invention, its flounces and furbelows of style, to decorate and bedizen Mr. Fennell in his principal characters. After twisting and distorting the King's English into every possible agony of meaning, he invents a new term in prosody. . . .

Paine finally dismissed the offender as "this mysterious magician of words, this jackalent constructor of luminous sentences, whose light attracts, but never can be followed."[7]

Paine could at times seize the living impression of an entire scene within the confines of a single sentence, although in poetry he often became wordy and indulged in nebulous imagery. The drama alone seemed to liven and point his phrases. In New York, Washington Irving, alias William Wizard, Esq., had already parodied the superficiality and irrelevance into which theatrical criticism had fallen. His light-hearted satire quite fittingly was reprinted in *The Boston Times* in the spring of 1808.[8] Here was a kindred voice from outside New England.

Tempering and solidifying Paine's judgments was his knowledge of dramatic history. He knew most of the plays he saw acted, and had some familiarity with earlier scholarship and commentary on them. To an

[6] Article by "E. S. O." in *BT*, 13 February 1808, 26.

[7] *BT*, 5 March 1808, 51 (*Works*, 386–387).

[8] Irving's criticism, "Theatricks" by William Wizard, Esq., reprinted in two issues of *BT*, 14 and 21 May 1808, 90, 94, 95.

actor who slurred a Shakespearean meaning he suggested, "Malone has a note on this subject, which will assist Mr. F's comprehension." To a rival he recommended "the perusal of Malone, Johnson or Walker."[9] For his theatrical history he delved into yellowing English reviews. Anticipating a performance by Bates in 1802, he discovered that the actor had been a pupil of Henderson at Covent Garden. Checking earlier accounts, he could report the testimony of the London journals.[1] At Mrs. Stanley's success as Estiphania in *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, he remembered that Mrs. Oldfield and Mrs. Abbington had once carried the role with eminent success. When *Venice Preserved* was played in 1808, Paine knew its dramatic source in the Abbé de St. Rael's *Histoire de la conjuration de Marquis Bedemar*—which allusion led on to a reference to Shakespeare's handling of North and Holinshed.

Bringing this awareness of the panorama of stage history to his examination of the performances in the early Boston theater, Paine could see contemporary triumphs and failures in perspective. With all his equipment as critic, however, he never idolized the commentary of the past to escape the living effect of a performance. At the final curtain of *Henry IV*, Paine heard the mass response that can defy and overcome criticism itself. At such a moment Malones and Johnsons might go by the board: "The convulsive roar of the audience was, on this occasion, a better criticism, than could be collected from the most classick notes of laborious commentators."[2]

Those who had run counter to the law in Board Alley sixteen years earlier were amply vindicated one night in 1808. Cooper, Fennell, and Mrs. Stanley appeared together in *Venice Preserved*. To Paine this combination represented a high point for the Boston stage. Since Cooper and Fennell were involved, "A divided sentiment prevailed." Advocates of either actor received more than they had dared hope. Even the strictest "friends of decorum" gave way to the excitement. "Mr. Cooper could not swell his fine melodious voice to the 'top of the compass,' without a responsive thunder from the house"; nor did "Mr. Fennell extend his 'many a rood of limb,' in two gigantick strides from one stage door to the other, but the most learned 'million' beat their palms with ecstacy."

For the three leads, two of them spurred by competition to surpass their own talents, it was a singular triumph. Fennell played Jaffier. Despite "a voice, obstinately sepulchral, a face, incapable of the lineaments of

[9] *BT*, 6 February 1808, 35.
[2] *BT*, 6 February 1808, 35.
[1] *BG*, 8 April 1802.

tenderness, a ponderous and overwhelming gesticulation, and an awkward majesty and indecision of movement," he was inspired that night. His poetic effects and conception were mature. With these and the response of the spectators, he transcended his defects and "struck out many sparks of excellence." "Moulded and fashioned" into Pierre, Cooper transfused "the soul of his author into the character of his action." Mrs. Stanley, already a favorite as Belvidera, outdistanced all her previous successes and gave her best tragic performance. Her third-act exit, "Farewell, remember twelve," was memorable.[3]

Paine believed that Pierre had not been done more brilliantly in London. Board Alley was still a vivid memory; the Boston theater had been in existence for less than a generation. Paine's assertions in 1792 of the potentialities of a legitimate stage had been partially confirmed. Looking back over the past of the theater he had fought to establish, a checkered history of failure and success, he found his faith as strong as it had been when the drama was a new and illegal experiment in Boston.

Besides Shakespeare and Otway and lesser pleasures, the spring of 1808 brought *The Robbers* ministered to by Hodgkinson, who "modified the original of Schiller to answer the requisitions of modern taste, and adapted it to modern correctness." Edgar Allan Poe's father-to-be was an "improving" local performer, and his future mother was "a delight of the eye."[4] But ominous warnings were given that year. Every night in the theater was not equal to that of *Venice Preserved*. Bostonians were paying to watch tumblers and to hear ventriloquists; they were, for such amusements, forsaking the theater. Paine, disturbed but confident, reiterated his belief in the activity which had fascinated him enough to determine the course of his life:

> The desertion of the Drama by its former friends, during the greater portion of the present season, will never induce us, on perceiving this "rub in its fortune," to abandon its cause to the caprice of the unlettered, or the folly of the fashionable; nor to commit its destiny to the perversity of party, the altivolancy of tumblers, or the eloquence of ventriloquism. We are deeply impressed with the belief, that the theatre is highly important to society, as a great publick school, in which all classes may assemble, to acquire mutual respect from examples of good breeding, to cultivate morality from the delineations of life, to enliven social humour from the vivacity of fiction, and to imbibe correct ideas of classick reading and of our native tongue from striking instances, however rare, of the force of elocution and purity of pronunciation.[5]

[3] *BT*, 13 February 1808, 39 (*Works*, 370ff.).

[4] *E*, new series, 16 April 1808, I. 310–311.

[5] *BT*, 6 February 1808, 35.

The high aims and possibilities of the drama had been only temporarily obscured, not disproved, "in the mist of infatuation." And the emphasis on the educational and moral values of the stage suggests once more the persistence of the opposite view.

Such statements give no clue that the man who wrote them was ill and poor. There are hints, however, that the dramatic critic for *The Boston Times* was not steady in his habits. One week the editor regretted the omission of a Paine essay because it was received "at too late an hour." Another week he admitted that no communication had been received. After Paine's death his friend, Thomas O. Selfridge, relayed some hard facts to the critic's father:

> I have known him frequently so destitute within the last four or five years, as not to be able to take a letter from the post office, till some friend had given to him the money. His chronic infirmities and his pecuniary distress induced him to seek consolation in the bottle. I witnessed with constant pain and anxiety the increase in this habit.[6]

In these last years Paine planned to finish his own play; he settled upon the scene, the plot, characters, and theme. But the project was never completed. A few of the important scenes were written, but even those are lost to us. Rumors flew about long before the end of his life that Paine's works were in press. In the fall of 1807 *The Port Folio* of Philadephia announced that the Boston poet and critic was to publish his works after submitting them to "the labour of revision and correction."[7]

In 1809 New England playgoers were being congratulated "on the recovery of Mrs. Poe from her recent confinement." And in the theater John Howard Payne was startling audiences with his gifts as an actor. The fact that the performer who caused such a stir had been a schoolboy in Boston only added to local pride in his achievements. At the Boston theater Payne performed "eight important dramatick characters," including Norval, Romeo, and Hamlet, besides his Frederick in *Lovers' Vows*.[8]

For his distant relative's role as Norval in Douglas,[9] that standard test of any young actor's merit, Paine wrote a special theatrical prologue.

[6] Ms. letter in MHS, Boston, 7 December 1811.

[7] *Port Folio*, 7 November 1807, 299. See also lengthy posthumous review of Paine's poetry in same journal, series 4 (1813), I. 441–457.

[8] *BG*, 9 February 1809 and 23 March 1809. *O*, 29 April 1809.

[9] A decade ago *Douglas* was revived at the Eaglet Theater in Sacramento (20, 21, and 29 October 1949).

Home's *Douglas*, set in fifteenth-century Scotland, had in it the sure appeals of the lost heir, mistaken identity, a tearful reunion of mother and son, a villainous betrayal, and several romantically tragic deaths. The piece had long been popular on the American stage. Proud of the native origin of the "young Roscius," Paine did not gloss over the fact that his relative depended for effects on boyish good looks and emotional appeal rather than on training and maturity of conception.

The next year, 1810, *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* published the "Letter of a German Baron," under which guise theatrical conditions were attacked. The Baron attends a performance of *The Stranger* by "our divine Kotzebue" and finds part of the theater given over to "wretched females of the most abandoned sort" whose behavior is "outrageous, indecent, disgusting." He is astonished that the audience, "even parents with their daughters," submit to the situation. In accents of leaden irony he could not believe that "any other nation would be capable of such magnanimity! such generosity!" The choice of a performance of the German play was a sure way to focus the moral issue. *Pizarro* had already been violently condemned in this same periodical as a degradation and calumniation of Christianity: "Kotzebue . . . has not the temerity to avow his purpose; he dares not openly attack, but he undermines. . . ."[1]

During the same season Paine worked closely with a native playwright, William C. White, whose tragedy, *Orlando*, had already been performed in Federal Street in 1797. On New Year's night in 1810 came his *Clergyman's Daughter*. Rumor had suggested that it was the long awaited answer to the plea for a distinguished American drama. The houses were crowded and the applause was just loud enough to carry the play through six performances in less than two months. This support of local dramatic effort cheered a writer in *The Boston Gazette*. Despite the hopeful enthusiasm, however, the sobering truth was clear. *The Clergyman's Daughter* was in need of "a few obvious alterations and amendments."[2] There was optimism that with these improvements it might become a stock play for the theater: "We hope to see the time when such stock plays may have their due proportion of American productions; not only as affording a higher zest to the entertainment, but refuting Buffon's theory of the diminution of intellect in the western world."[3]

[1] *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* (February 1810), VIII. 91 and (February 1808), V. 97–98.

[2] *BG*, 8 January 1810. Sixth performance given 23 February 1810.

[3] *Ibid.*

The Clergyman's Daughter failed to disprove Buffon's depressing theory and became another blasted hope. Such stage life as it held stemmed from eagerness for its success on the part of cultural patriots and from the epilogue written by Paine as a flourish for the tragedy. Making the unconvincingly black villainy and ruined virtue more palatable to the audience, this epilogue, spoken by James Fennell, attracted the attention of the Philadelphia critic John Bioren. After Paine's death Bioren surmised that the Bostonian was drawing "in his evening hour" his self-portrait in the epilogue, which his "expanding genius" had "extended . . . beyond all customary limits of recitation."[4] While Fennell majestically delivered the poem, the audience may have had personal reminders of the author through such lines as

> . . . he, who wanders with a poet's name,
> Must live on friendship, while he starves on fame.[5]

Paine was becoming legendary even before his death. An apocryphal collection of his witty sayings was already gathering. But he was starving and borrowing small sums to prevent his arrest. Joshua Belcher, who advanced the needed money, was kind but demanded a written contract. The closing of Paine's epilogue was free from self-pity. Here was another opportunity to stimulate good criticism, to make clear its link with American art. For a true critic, "candid to censure, generous to command," could encourage and stimulate talent:

> On private merit, publick fame they raise.
> For every Nation shares its Author's praise.

Bostonians quickly forgot *The Clergyman's Daughter* in their enthusiasm for the imported spectacle, *The Forty Thieves,* a Sheridan, Ward, Kelly, and Colman concoction which came in March of 1810. Three hundred eager theatergoers were turned away. The houses continued to overflow, breaking theatrical records for attendance. *The Forty Thieves* was played a dozen times before mid-April. Within another twenty years it was so often repeated that a writer in *The Dramatic Mirror* for 1829 commented that "every word of the piece is as familiar to the audience as their A,B,C."[6]

William White, undaunted by the sight of this rush to the boxkeeper for tickets to a spectacle from abroad, continued his efforts to offer Bos-

[4] Bioren wrote for *The Whim,* ed. Fennell and Thomas Waterman (Philadelphia, May 1814), 1. 13.

[5] *Works,* 214ff. [6] *Dramatic Mirror,* 12 February 1829.

tonians what they theoretically wanted—dramas by an American. In his next play, based on Fanny Burney's *Evelina*, he shifted from tragedy to an experiment in offering a happy ending. White's perseverance was encouraged by an anticipatory notice which referred to his powers of invention and industry.[7]

Again Paine gave active proof of his belief in American talent by writing an epilogue somewhat livelier than the play which it followed. A dialogue in verse, Paine's lines, comparatively brief as they were, had almost as much dramatic quality as White's entire five acts. The language of the poem must have given the audience relief after the general flatness of the preceding speeches. It may be unfair to suggest that William White had pondered too long the highly successful sorrows and family devotions of Kotzebue's stage sufferers. At least the German who impressed Boston so much more deeply than White ever did might have admired the display of sentiment in some of the American's theatrical dialogue:

> O, no, no, no, you must not. —Grant me one moment longer—one little moment. Answer me one question—Is it on my account that my father is miserable? If so, tell him I forgive him; from my soul do I forgive him. O, beg, intreat, beseech him to see me. In my name beseech him—beseech him in the name of my dear departed mother![8]

Picking up the characters as well as the plot and its dénouement in the dramatic epilogue, Paine infused humor into it, a lightness of touch wanting in the play itself, where lugubriousness dominates. All seven major characters came forth in the epilogue to enliven the evenings when *The Poor Lodger* was performed:

> HARRIET. Reward our Poet—
> JOBLIN. —he shall have our garret!
> DICK. No father—had "Poor Lodgers"
> there enough.
> SIR HARRY. What would your wisdom, then?—
> DICK. —write him a *Puff!*
> HARRIET. Truce to our trifling; —now,
> our author craves
> That just decision—which condemns,
> or saves.[9]

Pathetic self-criticism and a glimpse of contradictions in the cultural

[7] *BG*, 8 November and 13 December 1810.
[8] *The Poor Lodger* (Boston, 1811), Act V, scene 1, 80.
[9] *Ibid.*, 90.

air around him were in White's own prefatory remarks that his comedy might be "feeble" in technique but that it was "irreproachable on the score of morality." He excused the almost consistent melancholy of his so-called comedy by a reminder that Shakespeare's dramas, too, were "of the mixed order." White earnestly thanked "Mr. Paine for an epilogue, which reflects such signal lustre" on the play.

Paine's respected judgment and his enthusiasm were important in bringing another American play to the stage, although he did not live to see the production. James Ellison's *American Captive; or, Siege of Tripoli* owed its representations to the critic's influence: "in passing the circle of his friends, it found its way into the hands of the late Mr. Paine, and it is in consequence of the flattering opinion he gave of its merits, together with the voluntary offer of an Epilogue, that it is now to be introduced on the stage." A play acceptable to Paine had survived a recognized test: "Having passed the ordeal of so able a judge, the author, we think, can have but little to fear, even from the most fastidious."[1]

Paine's theatrical poems were an accepted feature of the stage repertoire. When recited, they were always given a prominent place in the theatrical advertisements as special attractions. The actor Morse, for instance, on 19 April 1810, on an important night of his career, included a Paine poem. The proceeds of the benefit were to take Morse to England for further training; he chose to play Edgar to Fennell's Lear and hoped that the receipts might "waft him across the Atlantic." As additional flavor and insurance to the program, he announced that he would recite Paine's "Monody on the death of Sir John More," a poem "placed by the best criticks who have seen it, among the best works of Mr. Paine." Bostonians could thus anticipate a "truly classic repast."[2] This monody was delivered again from the stage after the poet's death. As late as 1814 the theater was advertising the inclusion of one of his songs in the program. The epilogue to *The Poor Lodger* had so pleased the audience, and consequently the manager, that Paine was accorded a benefit for it in February of 1811.[3]

This benefit was crowded into the background by the great theatrical

[1] *American Captive* performed in Boston, 11 December 1811. For Paine's connection with it see *CC*, 7 December 1811. Play reviewed in *Comet*, 14 December 1811, 100–101. In 1808 Paine had assisted another native playwright, John D. Turnbull, with *The Wood Daemon; or, The Clock has Struck!*, Boston, 1808 (first performance, 9 May 1808).

[2] *BG*, 19 April 1810. For posthumous renditions of Paine's songs see *The New England Palladium*, 22 April 1814.

[3] *BG*, 4 February 1811.

event of the same year, the coming of George Frederick Cooke to Boston. This actor had once dared to play an inebriated Pizarro to John Kemble's Rolla and Mrs. Siddons' Elvira, but on other more sober occasions had been called a genius. The theater stayed open for extra evenings during that famous visit. Advance notices hailed him as "the greatest actor that ever appeared in England." Public demand extended his Boston engagement from nine to fourteen nights. Complaints were launched against the individual who "secured seven boxes, and by that means deprived *many* of the chance of obtaining seats. . . ." A bookseller took subscriptions for "a Biographical sketch of Mr. Cooke." And after his departure the theater was "very thinly attended."[4] During his first Boston engagement Cooke played in *Richard III*, *Othello*, *Henry IV*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Douglas*, and *The Man of the World*.

In Dunlap's *Memoirs of Cooke* is an account of Paine's coming with White to congratulate the actor on his Richard. Cooke was unmoved by Paine's compliment that he had thought himself "pretty well read in Shakespeare . . . but, Sir, your Richard convinced me of my ignorance." White, cast as the local playwright confronted by the celebrated actor, appears to have been so tongue-tied that Paine had to speak up for him: "Mr. White, Sir, is a man of literature, a player, a poet, a dramatic writer; but, Sir, Mr. White is a modest man." Paine referred to himself as having written "a good deal for the theatre," adding that his opinion had been "of some consequence." Cooke merely showed him the door.[5]

When the theater opened in the fall of 1811, a new stage had been built. Descriptions of this improvement emphasized the fact that it was to be "brilliantly lighted with new constructed Lamps of American Manufacture."[6] It was less than a generation since the chandeliers imported from England had been a source of pride to the theatergoers. In October, Mary Duff played Cora in *Pizarro*, and *The Comet* reported that it did not matter "a pin who played such a silly creature." In December, Morse played Kotzebue's Baron Steinfort, handicapped by rheumatism and with his arm in a sling. The role of Mrs. Haller fell to Mrs. Powell, who excelled in displaying "the shame of conscious guilt, the bitter pangs of remorse, and the tenderness of parental and conjugal affection" of the German heroine of *The Stranger*. The manager was accused of wielding on *Pizarro*, another long-lived Kotzebue drama, "not

[4] *BG*, 3, 14, 24 January and 7 February 1811.

[5] William Dunlap, *Memoirs of George Frederick Cooke* (London, 1813), II. 208–211.

[6] *BG*, 14 October 1811.

the pruning knife merely, but the saw and hatchet," and of lopping off "whole scenes with as little ceremony as a day labourer does the branches from the poplars" in the streets of Boston.[7]

Paine went regularly to the refurbished theater that fall, but he could write no more. Only two nights before his death he struggled out to see a performance of Murphy's *Grecian Daughter*, in which he had once watched Eliza Baker and later Mrs. Whitlock. Still wanting to attend on his last night, he was forced to end his two decades of playgoing. The next evening, 11 November 1811, his father made an entry in his diary, noting the pleasant weather and the death of his son.[8] The members of the bar were publicly invited to attend the funeral in Milk Street. Paine was "followed to the tomb by a great number of our most respectable citizens."[9]

If these respectable ones had not forgiven him the theater or his actresses so quickly, they could still indicate their sympathy for the judge whose family afflictions had been linked with the stage. Others, and they too were numerous, saw the day as marking the end of a splendid poet. These felt that "National Pride should dictate our National Duty," that the life and works should be printed.

Paine, senior, found himself, willingly or not, in the role of consultant. There were many problems. Some of the writings had been printed anonymously. Others were lost. The life was far more disturbing than the work. Materials for the former were all too difficult to suppress. Thomas Selfridge refused the task, and wrote frankly to the judge: "If I had recorded all the events and facts of which I had personal knowledge those who were malicious would have pronounced me the assassin of my friend's fame." Selfridge had prevented angry legal clients from attacking Paine for his desertion of office, had loaned him money, had watched the steady drinking of the last years, and was also "perfectly acquainted with . . . the enthralment with Mrs. Jones." The truth was too painfully close for him to record it. Refusing to gloss it over, Selfridge could only remind the father of his friend: "Your son was probably more known and distinguished, through the United States, than any citizen who had not been in public life."[1]

[7] *Comet*, 26 October 1811, 14, 16; 14 December 1811, 100.

[8] "The evning [*sic*] at ¼ past 8 o'clock my Son Rob. T. Paine passed this Life after a short illness at my house." Ms. Diary of Robert Treat Paine from 1785 on (MHS).

[9] *BG*, 14 and 18 November 1811 and *CC*, 16 November 1811.

[1] Ms. letter from Boston, 7 December 1811 (MHS).

Finally Charles Prentiss wrote the life. A sometime dramatist himself, he took a moral but sympathetic tone toward his former Harvard classmate.[2] Selfridge yielded and added a few pages, mostly of praise, clogged by regrets that Paine had thoroughly "erased his name from the calendar of saints." Thomas Dawes, given the task of "weeding" the life, became anxious about the "tittle tattle" in it: "The affair with Mrs. Jones is touched with much discretion, but why touch it at all, as Mr. Paine's widow is living. . . . The Biography is true: but suppose I had a bastard, why tell it."[3] A few pieces of dramatic criticism were included in the works, but the figure of Mrs. Jones complicated the editor's attempts to indicate without offense Paine's connections with the stage. Before the volume ever appeared and the quibbling over the shocking aspects of his life was ended, Paine's associates in the theater had been swift to try to honor his memory. Mrs. Inchbald's *Such Things Are* was played for the benefit of his widow and children on 4 December 1811. Afterwards came Paine's last song, "The Steeds of Apollo," and, as the most fitting tribute, the delivery of his earliest prize prologue.[4]

Some of those theatergoers of 1811 could have remembered hearing the same lines on the night in the seventeen nineties when the stage history of Boston began with Paine's ebullient predictions of American dramatic glories. In the years between, no Sophocles had yet developed locally. There had been a major reception for the works of a German playwright whose departure from the area was to be a strangely lingering one. William Dean Howells caught lines from Kotzebue's Rolla still being used as a well-worn elocutionary gem for school examinations in the eighteen seventies.[5] Such actors as Edwin Forrest, who played Rolla during his Boston début in 1827, may have helped the persistence of the echoes of the theatrical fashion at the turn of the century. America's greatest actress, born in Boston in 1816, came home in 1849 after she had captured the British. In her triumphal return to America, Charlotte

[2] Buckingham in *Newspaper Reminiscences*, II. 274, says Prentiss was "at sundry times a correspondent of . . . (the) *Boston Gazette*." For Prentiss' own work see *Haven; or, The Merited Gallows*, in *A Collection of Fugitive Essays in Prose and Verse* (Leominster, Mass., 1797). (Houghton Library.)

[3] Ms. letter from Boston, 23 November 1811 (MHS).

[4] *Comet*, 7 December 1811, 94–95, reported that the theater was "handsomely filled" for Boston's "favorite poet," that "every lover of native genius" mourned his passing to "his narrow house." Paine had worked over original prologue, intending to add sketches of the principal English dramatists.

[5] William Dean Howells, *The Vacation of the Kelwyns, an Idyl of the Middle Eighteen-Seventies* (New York, 1920), 114–116.

Cushman opened in the character of Kotzebue's own Mrs. Haller. From Massachusetts finally emerged at least the quality of acting that Paine had foreseen in his prologue of 1794. But one of the tragedies of his intellectual span is that the native playwright he looked for never appeared during his life. In his death the theater in New England lost its laureate and champion and its first critic.

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April Meeting, 1957

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 April 1957, at a half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. ABBOTT LOWELL CUMMINGS and WILLIAM ROTCH accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Messrs. CONOVER FITCH, of Boston, RICHARD BOURNE HOLMAN, of Cambridge, and FREDERICK JOSIAH BRADLEE, of Beverly, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. FRED NORRIS ROBINSON and ELLIOTT PERKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL and DAVID BRITTON LITTLE.

President GUMMERE then introduced the speaker with the following verse:

DAVID MCCORD

O minstrel of these modern times
Whose poems are more than merely rhymes,
Whose VERITAS is ne'er debased,
Whose humor never is misplaced,
Whose taste is never off the beam,
Who lures the trout from many a stream,
Who works with brush as well as pen,
Who conjures cash from Harvard men,
This time he speaks on Education,
A vital topic for our nation.

John Harvard from his lofty station
Looks on with hearty approbation.
We hang tonight on every word
From Meistersinger Dave McCord.

Mr. David McCord then read a paper entitled:

Notes on the Charity of Edward Hopkins: 1657-1957

PERHAPS the real way to insure tradition is to endow it by name. There is a long and honorable tradition about the Harvard College Yard, but it is not endowed by name. Today in Cambridge the word College has all but disappeared. Thirty or forty years ago the Goodies, now vanished both in name and flesh, used to say that they worked in the Colleges (plural), meaning in Hollis, Stoughton, Thayer, and the like. The College, it seems, is now a School. There are also termites in the Yard, and in due course of time, unless something drastic is done, the golden word itself will have crumbled to a campus. Harvard indifference in these matters is depressing. The site of old Beck Hall should be marked by a stone, for which I would gladly supply the legend:

Spread is dead.
Let the dance thrive.
Long live King Jive.

All this saddens me, of course, but I take comfort in the Charity of Edward Hopkins which has endowed the word *Detur* by salting it down in a bookplate. And although the Detur as a book or books given to undergraduates who attain for the first time the dignity and distinction of classification in Group I is not as old as the Charity of Edward Hopkins which dates from 7 March 1657, it is old enough to stand as the established symbol of that Trust which is the subject of these brief remarks.

It is amusing to reflect that this single word *Detur*—let it be given—from the Latin phrase *detur digniori*, or (as it stands on the current bookplate) "Detur . . . pro Insigni in Studiis Diligentia," represents an early shortening or abbreviation characteristic of a nation which jeeps its way to Sears, eats cukes, spuds, grass, and dogs, drinks cokes and fraps, dwells in Capes and walk-ups, grows glads and mums, watches TV, flies in jets, reads paperbacks, and vibrates between OK's and KO's. Let there be

given then *Detur:* one word in the Harvard language not likely to disappear, since it functions under the aegis of a legally constituted body. You will find it in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary:* "A prize of books given annually at Harvard College, U.S.A., to meritorious students. So called from the first word of the accompanying Latin inscription."

Like most things long familiar through use and usefulness, the Detur at Harvard is today a mildly coveted undergraduate prize which might conceivably gain in luster if something of the history behind it were more generally known. It is neither an obscure history nor uninteresting. It is surely not a definitive history, since there are certain moments and motives in the fabric which remain to this hour none too clear. It is far from my purpose in these casual remarks on a commemorative occasion—implicit in the title—to rehearse in detail what has already been written and rewritten, published or not published about Edward Hopkins, Esquire, and his somewhat remarkable bequest. There are four principal documents readily available, the first of which is "An account of the Trust Administered by the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins" by Charles P. Bowditch, sometime Secretary of the Trustees, privately printed for that body in 1889, following a vote of authorization passed on 6 May 1886. This is amplified by a "Supplemental Account, 1889 to 1943," written by Roland Gray, whose trusteeship began in 1908. His supplement was privately published in 1948 and brings the official history down through the year 1943. Then there is an excellent paper (to which I am particularly indebted) entitled "Edward Hopkins, Seventeenth Century Benefactor of Education," by Cecil Thayer Derry '03, first read at Deerfield Academy on 20 March 1953 before the 47th annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, and subsequently read at a meeting of the trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins at the Harvard Club of Boston on 7 May 1953. The fourth paper of which I have any knowledge is called "Harvard, Yale, and Governor Hopkins' Bequest," constituting the remarks made by Mr. Sidney Withington '06 early in 1955 before a group of New Haven people. Neither of these last two articles, I am reasonably certain, have as yet been published.

Now the Edward Hopkins history, so far as we are concerned with it, falls into three parts: the man himself, his will which was proved at London 30 April 1657, and the somewhat complex interpretation of that will. The brief summary which follows derives in fair measure from all four of the papers I have cited.

It is generally agreed that Edward Hopkins was born in or near Shrewsbury in England in 1600, making him some seven years senior to

John Harvard. He was educated in the Royal Free Grammar School, became a merchant in the East India Company, and dealt with India and the Levant "in such products as figs, raisins, carpets, and damask." He married Ann Yale, widow of David Yale; and his mother-in-law was, by a second marriage, Mrs. Theophilus Eaton. Elihu Yale, it will be remembered, was the grandson of Mrs. Eaton by her first husband. Edward Hopkins' marriage was a tragedy almost from the beginning. Mr. Withington says that Ann Yale Hopkins "had a sad mental collapse while the Hopkins were still in England." Mr. Derry says that she "became hopelessly insane." There is no doubt, however, that Edward Hopkins remained throughout his life a remarkably devoted husband, and bore his cross as not many men could bear it. Governor Winthrop (who would not have sanctioned the founding of Radcliffe College) speaks of Ann as a "goodly young woman of special parts, who has fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason which had been growing on her divers years by occasion of giving herself wholly to reading and writing, having written many books. . . . Her husband being very loving and tender was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs and such things as belong to women and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honourably in the place God had set for her." Edward Hopkins "diligently sought the meaning of his tragic affliction. He thought that perhaps he was being punished for expecting too much worldly happiness in his married life. There seem to have been no children." Ann lived until 1698—or for more than forty years after her husband's death.

It is obvious from the first that Edward Hopkins had the head and vision for business. Very early in England he became connected with some eminent Puritans; and having suffered by 1636 "some financial loss in speculative ventures in the New World, he was appointed purchasing agent in London for the Saybrook Colony." He apparently sailed from England in the *Hector*, reaching Boston in 1637. Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, and possibly John Harvard, were among his fellow passengers. A single winter in Boston being sufficient, if not too much, Hopkins proceeded to Hartford where he rapidly became a leader in commerce and public affairs. He held numerous offices: member of the Assembly of 1638; magistrate and first secretary to the colony in 1639; second governor of Connecticut in 1640, to which office he was re-elected no less than six times—the last in absentia in 1654. In some of the inter-

vening years he served as deputy governor. He was also president of the Federation in 1644 and 1650, acted as judge, as commissioner for public defense, set town boundaries, settled disputes over contested lands, and negotiated with the Indians. He was equally successful in his personal affairs—particularly in general shipping. It is presumed that he amassed a considerable fortune.

He returned to England in 1652—ostensibly for a visit, but actually for good. Being prescient in the matter, he sent for his wife, who had been cared for by her mother Mrs. Theophilus Eaton, and made every provision for her welfare. Edward Winslow wrote of Hopkins as one "whom we all know to be a man that makes conscience of his words as well as of his actions." Cotton Mather called him "devout . . . and fervent in prayer." In the England of Oliver Cromwell he appears to have flourished about as well as he did in the country to the south of us. He was appointed a Navy commissioner in 1652; and in 1655 became, on the death of his brother, Warden of the Fleet and keeper of the palace. Mr. Derry has been quick to point out that Fleet in this sense meant Fleet Prison, and that keeper of the palace signified Honorary Curator of Westminster Palace.

If Edward Hopkins' name is irrevocably associated with Harvard, it is amusing to recall that it was likewise connected with the name of Yale, not destined to become a college until 1701; and also with Dartmouth whose date of founding is 1769, or one hundred and twelve years after Hopkins died of tuberculosis—5 December 1657—for in 1656 he was elected to Parliament from the Borough of Dartmouth in Devonshire. Mr. Derry has discovered that, when he died, a friend in England wrote, "Mr. Hopkins [is] gone to God . . . at a time wherein we have great need of the presence and prayers of such men." Edward Hopkins, says Mr. Derry in summation, "exemplified many of the finest traits of the Puritans. He was enterprising, energetic, practical-minded, public-spirited, devoted to the interests of both New England and old England, tenderly affectionate towards his invalid wife, foresighted in his provision both for her and for the interests of education, and deeply devout in thought and deed."

The opening sentences of Edward Hopkins' will give further evidence of his character: "The Sovereign Lord of all Creatures giving in Evident & Strong Intimations of his pleasure to call me out of this transitory life unto himself, It is ye desire of me, Edward Hopkins, Esqr., to be in a readiness to attend his call in whatsoever hour he cometh, both by Leav-

ing my Soul in the hand of Jesus who only gives boldness in that day & delivers from the wrath to come, and my body to a comely Burial according to the discretion of my Executor and Overseers, and also by Settling my small Family (if it may be so called) in order, and in pursuance thereof do thus dispose of the Estate the Lord in Mercy hath given me."

Now the interesting and important item in the will is this: "*And the residue* of my Estate there [in New England] I do hereby give & bequeath unto my ffather Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. John Cullock, and Mr. William Goodwin, in full assurance of their Trust and Faithfullness in disposing it according to the intent & purpose of me, Edward Hopkins, which is to give some Encouragement unto those forreign Plantations for the breeding up of Hopefull youth in the way *of Learning* both at ye Grammar School & Colledge for the publick Service of the Country in future times."

Approximately three hundred words farther on, there occurs a codicil of sorts: "My further mind and Will is That within Six Months after the Decease of my Wife five hundred pounds be made over into New England, according to the advice of my loving Ffriends Major Robert Thompson & Mr. Francis Willoughby, and conveyed into the hands of the Trustees before mentioned in further prosecution of the aforesaid public Ends, Which in the Simplicity of my heart are for the upholding & *promoting* the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the Earth."

It is now generally agreed that the word *Colledge* in the will refers to Harvard College, since this was the only one at that time in existence in New England. Mr. Bowditch cites Professor Francis J. Child as saying that the grammar school and college in the will "undoubtedly meant a school and college in more or less intimate connection." To Edward Hopkins the writing of this will undoubtedly was a simple matter, for he was direct and unequivocal in all things. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive of the complicated construction put upon his sentences, of the curious way in which his wishes were carried, or half carried, out, and of the bitter arguments that attended the whole settlement from beginning to end. In the first place there was a time lag, since the General Court at Hartford sequestrated the estate "and ordered that it should be secured within the Colony until an inventory of the estate was presented and administration was 'granted according to law.'" Messrs. Goodwin and Cullock, two of the original trustees, joined forces against Theophilus Eaton Esquire, pastor of the church in Hartford, the outcome of which was that Mr. Goodwin and a large number of the church members moved

to Hadley where they proceeded to settle. Thus Genesis faded into Exodus; and with one trustee in New Haven and a second in Hadley—the others having already departed this world—the General Court decided to hold on to the estate. Not until 1664, after threats to take up the matter in England, was the restraint removed. In April of that year John Davenport and William Goodwin, one in New Haven and one in Hadley, divided the residue of the estate as follows: £400 to Hartford and the balance divided between Hadley and New Haven, "only provided that £100 will be paid to Harvard College out of that half of the estate which Hadley had." I think at this point of a verse about Bishop Potter quoted in Mark A. DeWolfe Howe's *John Jay Chapman and His Letters:*

> Then sleek as an otter rose Henry C. Potter,
> And smiled with the smile of his race.
> "My friends," he said calmly, "I reckon you've gotter
> Accept with your usual grace
> The *altered conditions* . . ."

Conditions having altered suddenly in favor of Harvard College, approximately £100 in the form of corn and meal was transported to Cambridge for the nominal fee of £7-0s-6d, or about 7 per cent. Furthermore, the produce was consigned to Deputy Governor Willoughby, a merchant who credited the College with the amount agreed, but proceeded to live until 1671 still owing the College for this and other items. The score at this point was considerably in favor of New Haven.

Now the second part of the bequest of the property in England, dependent (as we have seen) on Mrs. Hopkins' life, was still undistributed when she died in 1698. By this time all the original trustees were dead, as well as the executors, and one Mr. Henry Dally, Overseer of the will. But the case of the "Edward Hopkins bequest of £500 for propagation of Y^{e} Gospel" was revived in England in 1708, probably through the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. The result, in brief, was that £500 with interest at 5 per cent starting six months after Mrs. Hopkins' death were produced, amounting to some £800 in all. The master of the Court of Chancery issued an order on one Mr. Exton, Mr. Dally's executor, to lay it out "in the purchase of lands in New England in the name of the Corporation for Propagation of the Gospel, for the benefit of the College and Grammar School at Cambridge." Long before this the town of Hadley had established a Hopkins grammar school, now known as Hopkins Academy, and acceptance by the court in May 1660 had already marked Mr. Davenport's plans "for the

contemplated college preparatory school . . ." the beginning of the Hopkins grammar school in New Haven. A board of trustees of that school[1] has, like the trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins, held continuity through nearly three centuries. Only Hartford, so closely identified with the Benefactor, has now no secondary school bearing the name of Hopkins.

Thus it came about that in 1712 agents for the Cambridge grammar school and Harvard College agreed "humbly to propose to Mr. Attorney General that three-fourths of the said £800 and the produce thereof shall be for the benefit of Harvard College at Cambridge . . . for bringing up students in Divinity for the service of the country, and that the other fourth part and produce thereof be for the benefit of the grammar school at the town of Cambridge for the bringing up of youth to be sent to the said college. . . . That three-fourth parts of the Charity proposed to be appropriated to the Colledge be for ye encouragement of four Batchelors of Art to reside at the College and perform publick Exercises in Theology in such manner as shall be approved by the president and corporation of the colledge. . . . That every Ma of art or batchelor of art who shall be Entituled to receive part of this Charity shall be obliged to pay after the rate of two shillings in ye pound for what he shall so receive to the Trea. of Ye Colledge for the time being towards a ffund for ye use hereafter mentioned. Namely, to Buy Books and reward the Industry of such undergraduates as shall distinguish themselves by application to their studys." This is the prelude to the Detur as we know it today. The Cambridge Grammar School has long since given up the ghost; and today its portion of the Charity goes to the Cambridge High and Latin School.

The land which the trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins purchased belonged to the Natick Indians, the tribe to which the Reverend John Eliot had ministered. The specific tract which they proceeded to purchase was "commonly known by the name of Maguncoog." Toward the close of the eighteenth century some acreage in Upton was added. Mr. Bowditch remarks in his Account, "That the purchase was not profitable to all concerned" as shown by the following extract from the same diary [that of Judge Sewall]:

> Oct. 12. Solomon Thomas acquaints me that Isaac Nehemiah, one of the committee, had hanged himself. Ask'd what they should doe. I sent him to the Crowner. . . . hang'd himself with his girdle, 3 foot and 4 inches long, buckle and all.

Mr. Withington has observed that the signatures to the purchase of land

[1] Walter Camp, incidentally, was one of its alumni.

which subsequently became the town of Hopkinton "do not indicate a high degree of learning among the Natick Indians. . . . Only two . . . wrote their names themselves and that not very well." The land proved something of a headache: collection of rents, collection of taxes, and so on. In 1823 the tenants on the land were persuaded and agreed to pay the trustees $2,000, to which the State added $8,000 in full settlement of all claims for past and future rentals. From that time on, the Charity of Edward Hopkins has remained an invested fund.

At this point we should return to New Haven for a moment to consider what President Timothy Dwight of Yale wrote in his travel memoirs. His presidency extended from 1795 to 1817. "Munificent donations [he says] have been given to Harvard College by several opulent gentlemen, both in Great Britain and America. About two thousand pounds sterling plainly intended for Yale College by the Honorable Edward Hopkins, once Governor of Connecticut, fell, through a series of accidents, partly into the hands of her sister seminary and partly into the hands of the trustees of three grammar schools; one at New Haven, one at Hartford, and one at Hadley, Massachusetts." Now it is true that Governor Hopkins had written to Mr. John Davenport, April 1656: "If I understand that a college is begun and like to be carried on at New Haven for the good of posterity, I shall give some encouragement thereto." But since he died some forty-five years before the founding of Yale, it is difficult to understand how Dr. Dwight could validate his words: "plainly intended for Yale College by the Honorable Edward Hopkins." In 1948, for no accountable reason, save the editor's privilege, I printed in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* a little verse about Dr. Dwight. At that time I was not a trustee of the Charity of Edward Hopkins. This is the verse:

Ah, Timothy Dwight
Was short of sight.
  But at the time
  And in his prime
They thought him right.

What results, then, has the Charity of Edward Hopkins achieved across the years? First of all, I would remind you that it is undoubtedly the oldest trust fund in America. The original £800 today amount to about $174,000, market value. In the year 1956 the sum of $438 was paid to Harvard College to provide Deturs; $3,949 paid to the Divinity School to provide six scholarships; and $1,462 to the Cambridge High and Latin School to be used for prizes and awards.

What sort of people has the Charity of Edward Hopkins benefited? The first Deturs in Harvard College were apparently given in the year 1756—possibly a few years later. Prior to this, the income from the Hopkins legacy was used to help poor students. The first printed list of students to whom Deturs were awarded appears in the faculty records of 1759. In that year there were 16 awards. In 1800, forty-one years later, there were 20 awards. In 1850 there were 40; in 1900, 26; in 1925, 22; in 1935, 34; in 1940, 41; in 1945, 27; in 1950, 79; in 1951, 83 (the highest number to date); in 1955, 64; in 1957, 60. For many years it was the practice of the College to print the list of Detur recipients in the catalogue, but this practice was abandoned after 1947.

In the eighteenth century, books given as Deturs in the main included classical authors, textbooks, grammars, dictionaries, scientific and philosophical works—for example, Locke's *Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*. In the nineteenth century the standard English authors, and particularly the poets, predominated; but there were also translations—Montesquieu, for one—and certain of the specialized works like dictionaries.

In the light, or at least in the twilight, of history, it would be interesting and even instructive to compose a list of the twenty graduates and former students of Harvard College most likely to have received a Detur in the last two hundred years. Out of the names I have arbitrarily selected there will be perhaps a few surprises: Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, for example, but not his equally famous father; Henry D. Thoreau, but not Emerson; Charles William Eliot, but not A. Lawrence Lowell; Robert Frost, but not his poet classmate Wallace Stevens. Among the notable recipients: Timothy Pickering 1763, William Ellery Channing 1798, Washington Allston 1800, Edward Everett 1811, Cornelius Conway Felton 1827, Benjamin Peirce 1829, Henry D. Thoreau 1837, James Russell Lowell 1838, Francis Parkman 1844, Charles W. Eliot 1853, Phillips Brooks 1855, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes 1861, William Vaughn Moody 1893, Edward Kennard Rand 1894, Julian Lowell Coolidge 1895, Walter Bradford Cannon 1896, Robert Frost 1901, William Ernest Hocking 1901, John La Farge 1901, Percy Williams Bridgman 1904, Lee Simonson 1909, Walter Lippmann 1910, Frederick May Eliot 1911, James Bryant Conant 1914, Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr. 1927, John Updike 1954.

The records are not clear as to what books were given in each instance. But we do know that Channing received Watson's *History of Phillip II;* Edward Everett, Campbell's *Rhetorick;* President Eliot, Milton's *Prose*

Works; Phillips Brooks, Southey's *Poetical Works;* and Justice Holmes, Bryant's *Poems.* Theoretically I suppose that Thoreau ought to have received *Das Kapital;* but unfortunately—or fortunately—the author was but nineteen years old when Thoreau was graduated.

As to the selection of Deturs: it is only in this century, so far as I can discover, that the students have had any real choice in the matter. I have at hand as I write a copy of James Thomson's *The Seasons,* 1830. This is apparently a centennial edition published by William Pickering, since the book first appeared in 1730. It is handsomely bound in leather with the College seal in gold impressed on front and back—but who would have asked such elegance? From 1933 to 1951, for example, when students were given a list of books from which to choose, one notes with interest that only once was a set of books containing more than four volumes ever selected: this was Goethe's *Works* in six volumes. But Augustus, it seems, followed Tiberius.

In the period 1951 to 1957, recipients of Deturs were privileged to choose from certain sets of books bought by Mr. Philip Hofer[2] during the years 1951-1953. These were handsomely bound volumes—a deluxe offering to a lucky few. The Detur winners in the early nineteenth century, could they know of it—Thomson's *Seasons* in leather notwithstanding —might feel somewhat envious of the young gentlemen in 1957 who may select (and have selected) an 1845 *Chaucer* in six volumes, a *History of British India* in nine volumes, Tolstoy's *Works* in fourteen volumes,[3] *The Life and Works of George Herbert* in six volumes, *The Memoirs of Napoleon* in eight volumes, and so on.

Among the most popular titles in recent years, one notes with pleasure Kittredge's *Shakespeare;* Cushing's *Life of Sir William Osler* in two volumes; Walton's *Compleat Angler;* Samuel Eliot Morison's *Three Centuries of Harvard; The Oxford Book of English Verse;* Frazer's *Golden Bough* —presumably a one-volume selection; a two-volume Boswell's *Life of Johnson,* Professor Jaeger's *Paideia* in three volumes; Louis Untermeyer's *A Treasury of Great Poems; The Copeland Reader;* de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America;* and Newton's *Principia.*

The Bowditch and Gray Accounts contain what purports to be a complete list of Divinity students upon the Hopkins Foundation. The earliest award is that of 1730; the last is 1944. Some 570 names are on the combined lists. Not all of those who shared in the largesse of the Foundation became ministers of the Gospel. Among the distinguished and well-known

[2] Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts in the College Library.

[3] Tolstoy, it would seem, is leaner in 1957 than in The Farnsworth Room in 1921.

names, I note (with their College classes) Horatio Alger 1852 (the novelist) and his father who preceded him in the Class of 1825; George Bancroft 1817; Edward Everett 1811, last of the nine Harvard presidents to live in Wadsworth House; Ebenezer Gay 1737, Samuel Gilman 1811, who wrote in Fay House—now the administration building of Radcliffe College—the words of "Fair Harvard"; John Farwell Moors 1842, Edward Rowland Sill, who became a well-known poet in spite of not having attended Harvard College; Benjamin Wadsworth 1769, son of the builder of Wadsworth House (1726) who was the first Harvard president to live in it; Joseph Willard 1793, son of another Harvard president; Frederick Winthrop Alden, present chairman of the Board of Trustees of New England College; the late Ralph Barton Perry; and the late Edward Kennard Rand. There is also, parenthetically, one Perkins and one Palfry, but not one Palfrey Perkins.

The Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins, whose number has never exceeded (as indeed it may not exceed) twenty-one members, has existed as a body at least since 14 January 1713, the date of the first meeting recorded in the Diary of Samuel Sewall. There are twenty-one on the board at this moment. The odd thing is that the trustees have enjoyed over this span of 244 years no less than twenty-seven separate titles. Except for one word, the present title of "The Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins," as established in 1827, was in existence in 1743. But prior to 1743 the body was known under four different titles; and in 1743 began a series of twenty-one changes of refreshing and even astonishing variety. I remember very well once having in my hands for some days the manuscript of a dictionary of Indian Place Names of New England, assiduously and reverently gathered by the late William B. Cabot. He had listed no fewer than sixty-seven variants in the spelling of Massachusetts, so that at times the word resembled itself about as closely as Connecticut resembles Carolina. And so it is with the titles by which the present body of Edward Hopkins' trustees has been known. Furthermore, if the Natick Indians were unlettered, several of the scribes or secretaries of the Trustees (in the dim past, if you will) were enchantingly notional in the matter. I am suspiciously reminded of a relevant item which Mr. Walter M. Whitehill has called to my attention. It is taken from The Public Records of the Colony of [Governor Hopkins'] Connecticut, dated 3 June 1647: "Tho. Newton, for his misdemeanor in the vessel cauled the Virgin, in giveing Phillipe White wyne when he had to much before is fyned 5 *l.*" So then:

The original title in 1717 was The Trustees for Managing the Charity

of Edward Hopkins, Esq. This was simple and effective and not far from the title today; but within one year they were both honorable and geographic—even disturbingly insular: The Honourable Trustees for the affairs of The Town of Hopkinston. Too much and too long. In 1726 is was abbreviated to The Trustees of Hopkinston. Perhaps the year 1728 was a wet one; at any rate, the name expanded as a tree ring might under aqueous conditions, and the new title became The Honourable & Reverend Trustees for the Charity of Edward Hopkins, Esq. Two years later a drought set in, and it shrank to the brief Trustees of Mr. Hopkins' Legacy. Then in 1743 we find The Trustees for the Charity of Edward Hopkins, Esq.; but in the same year the reverends returned, and the title expanded to The Honourable & Reverend Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins, Deceas'd, Esq. But there was something obviously wrong about the order of Deceased, Esq. So in 1748 we find The Honourable & Reverend Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins, Esq., *Deceased*. What became of the legacy? It was restored somewhere between 1748–1751: The Honourable & Reverend Trustees of the Legacy of Edward Hopkins, Esq. It was a lean year in 1751, and we now find simply Ye Trustees of Hopkinston. In 1753 we are back at the old stand with The Honourable & Reverend Trustees of the Charrity of Edward Hopkins, Esq., only this time a second "r" has been introduced into Charity. The year 1754 finds the word Hopkinton, for the first time without an "s." Five years later the "s" was restored.

Then in 1760 the name of Mr. Hopkins changes unaccountably: The Honourable & Reverend Trustees for ye Charity (with two "r's" in it) of ye Honourable Ez. Hopkins, Esq. In 1761 the word Legacy was substituted for Charity, with or without two "r's"; the Esq. was dropped entirely. In 1763 we find The Honourable & Reverend Trustees for ye Legacy of ye Honourable Ezek. Hopkins, Es. We have gained a vowel and a consonant for Ez., but we have lost a consonant from Esq. In 1764 the transition is complete: Ez. to Ezek. to Ezekiell; and at the same time an extra "p" is dropped into Hopkins. Now in 1770 the whole concept suddenly changes: Honourable Trustees of Hopkinston Colledge Land. In 1771 it is The Honourable & Reverend Hopkinston Trustees. The Legacy is back with us in 1772, but in 1781 another new word appears: The Trustees of the Hopkinton Donation—the legacy has become a gift, though not for too long. In 1797 we have The Honourable Trustees of the Estate of Harvard Colledge; but later in the year we progress to The Honourable Trustees of the Hopkinston and Upton Land. 1808 has a forward look with Trustees for *perpetuating* the Legacy of Edward Hop-

kins. The word Donation returns in 1809 and perpetuating goes out. In 1822 perpetuating is back and Charity has replaced Donation. Also Edward Hopkins, deceased these now 162 years, suddenly becomes "the late Edward Hopkins." Between 1822 and 1826 we are perpetuating again; but in 1827 at last we emerge Gentlemen Trustees of the Hopkins Donation to Harvard College. It all reminds one of Robert Frost's "The Gift Outright" beginning:

> The land was ours before we were the land's . . .

In that same year 1827 we became the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins and have now stayed put for exactly 130 years. *Esto perpetua!*

The Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins have numbered more than 350 since 1712, though the Bowditch Account acknowledges some imperfection owing to the loss of the records in 1825. Among the distinguished names we may note those of Waitstill Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, Increase and Cotton Mather, John Leverett, Thomas and William Brattle, Benjamin Wadsworth, John Quincy Adams, William Ellery Channing, Samuel Atkins Eliot, Josiah Quincy, James Walker, Jared Sparks, Cornelius Conway Felton, Charles Eliot Norton, Francis Parkman, Francis Greenwood Peabody, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, the late Judge Robert Walcott, LeBaron Russell Briggs, Samuel McChord Crothers, and Chester W. Greenough.

Any trustee of the Charity of Edward Hopkins who happens to live on the wrong side of Commonwealth Avenue in Boston must admit that the 19th of April, although it is R-Day for Paul Revere, and D-Day for General Dawes, is also H-Day for Hopkins. For the Detur of Patriots' Day is a crown of bay leaves offered by His Honor the Mayor of Boston to that gentleman of whatever nationality who has not galloped on four legs but has run on his own mare's shanks from Hopkinton to Boston, a distance of some twenty-six miles. On the morning of that day, the south side of Commonwealth Avenue is roped off, vehicular traffic diverted elsewhere, and the town of Hopkinton brought forcibly to mind. It seems a pleasant thought. If Marathon is a flowering word like Anthology out of the Greek, surely Hopkinton and Hopkins deserve consideration and respect in the lexicon of Harvard. Tradition and devotion have lost some of the firmness with which they once were spoken. The Charity of Edward Hopkins was born out of generosity and vision. It is now a part of our Cambridge heritage. Those of us privileged to help prolong its life are twice fortunate. Like the Boylston Professor who may tether his cow in the Yard, and the

Poet Laureate who has his butt of sherry, so we possess and enjoy the right to sit on the Commencement platform. There is something mysterious about this right—which is quite as it should be. The year 1781 is the earliest year in which we have a record of the line of march at Commencement. The Trustees are not there. They first appear on the records in 1896. Whence and when came this privilege? That is our one and closely guarded secret.

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Professor ALAN SIMPSON:

A Candle in a Corner

How Harvard College Got the Hopkins Legacy

ON 26 March 1713, Matthew Evans, solicitor, of Clement's Inn, sat down to write a letter to Mr. John Gonson, sub-treasurer of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. Mr. Evans had several things to say. How he had done his best to keep his costs down; how they would have been much less if Henry Newman, the counsel for Harvard College, had not behaved so unexpectedly; how he thought office copies of all the proceedings should be "put up in a small box to be lodged with your corporation for safe custody"; how silly it was of those Connecticut people to think that they could claim any part of the Hopkins legacy at this late hour, or for that matter, at any hour; and how much he, Matthew Evans, had earned his reward; though of course it was not money, but a pure love of justice that had moved him. He was leaving for Bristol next week and the clerk of the court had to be paid. So he wrote his letter, in which all these points were neatly made without the benefit of punctuation, and enclosed a bill for £192.[1] In due course, the office copies reached Mr. Gonson; decrees, orders, humble petitions, joint and several answers, objections taken, agreements, more orders—the whole story of how Harvard College got the Hopkins Charity, as verbosely told as only the law could tell it. In time these records made their way from London to the estate at Eriswell, Suffolk,

[1] Iveagh MSS. O.35, printed in Appendix 7. MSS. O.4 is an itemized statement of solicitor's costs between Michelmas term 1708, when the suit was begun and Hilary 1715. The amount was £192 - 6 - 4, of which about half was allowed by the court out of the Hopkins estate, and the other half paid by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel. Matthew Evans receipted the bill on 30 March 1715.

which the Corporation had bought in Cromwell's day; and when a Maharajah, homeless but not penniless, bought out the Corporation in 1869 and built himself a remarkable palace with a green dome, the little box crept under it.[2] The Duleep Singhs have gone from Elveden,[3] but the contents of the box are still there, more or less as Matthew Evans packed them.

Edward Hopkins was a type not usually found on immigrant ships. He had more than enough to live on. Behind him and his brothers and sisters had stood an uncle, Sir Henry Lelly, with ample means and no children of his own to consume them. At some time in his career, Sir Henry, with the help of an associate, had bought himself the office of Warden of the Fleet; discovering, after suitable market research, that there was nothing like having a good prison in the family, if you could get the right man to manage it. In this case, the office of Warden carried with it the Keepership of Westminster Palace and a certain amount of rental property around the law courts, so it was no trifling investment. As it cost Sir Henry £8,000 to buy out his partner's interest, the market value may have been twice that. With this at their backs, the nieces got useful portions, the boys had a decent education, and everyone benefited in 1629 when Uncle Henry joined his predecessors in the vaults of St. Bride's Church, where Wardens of the Fleet were buried.[4] Nephew Henry seems to have left Clare College, Cambridge, where he had lots of friends in the Common Room, to become the new warden.[5] Nephew Edward was given all his uncle's stock in the East India Company, and we gather from the will that at some earlier date (perhaps at the end of his apprenticeship, or at his marriage) he had been set up with £400. It is not known what sort of start his own parents were able to give him, but other young men, with

[2] The Maharajah Duleep Singh, ex-ruler of the Punjab, settled at Elveden in 1863, and became lord of the manor of Eriswell by purchasing the Company's estate in 1869. No other Company records seem to have been handed over, apart from a few estate documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[3] Elveden is owned by the Earl of Iveagh, K.G., C.B., C.M.G., through whose courtesy these documents have been consulted. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this kindness, and the excellent facilities provided by Mr. James Speed. I owe my introduction to the records to Mrs. Alan Rowe, The Elms, Ixworth, Suffolk, who deserves the credit for discovering them.

[4] An abstract of Sir Henry's will was printed in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1884), V. 38, 313–316, together with those of his nephews, Henry and Edward Hopkins.

[5] A complete copy of Henry Hopkins' will is in Iveagh MSS. O.1. He left "all that household stuff he has of mine in Clare Hall" to one fellow, and memorial rings to a number of others.

abilities and connections, went far in the city of London in this generation, on less than £400.[6]

But money was not everything. Among the influences which surrounded Edward Hopkins was "our dear pastor, the Reverend Thomas Hooker." Hooker may stand for the forces which took Hopkins and Theophilus Eaton out of the city in 1637, to a scene where the profits were as much smaller as the piety was purer. Once there, he naturally took charge. For over a decade he was governor, trader, and pillar of the church in frontier Connecticut. But he returned to England in 1652, and though elected governor again in the elections of the following year he never went back. He was the kind of man who would have consulted his conscience about such decisions and we may be sure that a sense of duty kept him at home. The fact that he was made a Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy and a member of Parliament may have had something to do with it, and he also had the health of his "dear distressed wife" to think about. She was incurably insane—an infirmity which Governor Winthrop, a practical man, had ascribed to obsessive habits of reading and writing books, for which the weaker sex was quite unfitted. "Her husband, being very loving and tender to her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her ways and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, she had kept her wits and might have improved them usefully and honourably in the place God had set her."[7] Anne Hopkins has a curious rôle in the history of the Hopkins Charity. Her own enthusiasm for books must have helped to inspire it, but by surviving her husband for nearly half a century we shall see how the legacy was almost lost.

When Edward Hopkins died in March 1657, he left a substantial estate on both sides of the water. His brother Henry had predeceased him by a few months, making him his sole executor and bestowing on him the office of Warden of the Fleet, and the manor at Thickoe, Essex, which had belonged to their uncle Henry. What was left for the new warden after the discharge of debts and legacies is not known, but there was pre-

[6] See footnote 9.

[7] John Winthrop, *The History of New England*, James Savage, ed. (Boston, 1853), II. 266. For Governor Hopkins, see *D.N.B.*, *D.A.B.*, J. H. Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1850–1890), and Charles P. Bowditch, *An Account of the Trust administered by the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins* (privately printed, 1889). E. Oviatt is surely mistaken in supposing that it was the death of his brother Henry, Warden of the Fleet, that took Edward home in 1652; *The Beginnings of Yale* (New Haven, 1916), 82. Judging from the date at which his will was proved, Henry was still living.

sumably something to add to his own fortune. This was made up of the usual merchant's assets—goods and investments, with some capital in plate and land. The lands were only a fraction of the estate; the Essex manor may have been worth a thousand or so,[8] and the New England farm, at Farmington, a few hundreds. In all he was reckoned to have "a great personal estate of about £20,000 or more." If this were so, it would put him in the class of London businessmen who were rich without being in the top brackets. A few merchant princes of this generation thought they were worth over £100,000. A larger group, from which mayors and sheriffs were often drawn, were worth between £40,000 and £50,000 at their deaths.[9] Perhaps Hopkins might have joined them if he had stayed at home, but the probabilities were hardly firm enough to allow us to say that he had sacrificed half his prospects by emigrating.

His will distinguished between his two estates. On the New England side, where his books were in the care of Captain John Culleck, he was particularly careful to remember the Hookers. Susan Hooker, widow of the famous preacher, was forgiven all she owed. One daughter, Mrs. Mary Newton, of Farmington, was given a legacy of £30; another, Mrs. Sarah Wilson, wife of the Reverend John Wilson, got Hopkins' farm in the same town.

The residue of this property was then left "to his father Theophilus Eaton Esquire, Mr. John Davenport, Captain John Culleck, and Mr. William Goodwin In Trust and full assurance of their Trust and Faith in disposeing of it according to the true intent and purpose of him the said Edward Hopkins which was to give some Encouragement into those forreigne Plantations for the breeding up of Hopeful Youths in the way of Learning both at the Grammer Schoole and Colledge for the Publick Service of the Country in future times."[1]

The estate in old England naturally bore the greater burden of lega-

[8] This is inferred from a statement in the later evidence that the income was about £50 a year; the price of land was usually based on a twenty-year purchase.

[9] These statements are based on a study of the accounts of Thomas Cullum (1587–1664), draper, sheriff of London, and baronet. Starting with less than £300 at the end of his apprenticeship in 1616, he was worth about £50,000 in the year of Hopkins' death, 1657. His cousin, Nicholas Crisp, an altogether bigger operator, who was caught on the losing side of the Civil Wars, put his losses at £200,000. A. Simpson, "Thomas Cullum, Draper," *Economic History Review*, second series, XI. No. 1, 1958.

[1] This form of words is adopted from the Information filed in Chancery by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel (Iveagh MSS. O.5). It is the same as appears in the abstract of the will cited note 4, above. For a copy of the will in the possession of the trustees, see Bowditch, *op. cit.*, 52–56.

cies. The reference to "my father" Theophilus Eaton reminds us that his wife's mother, the widow of David Yale, had been the second wife of Theophilus Eaton, and we find Yales and Eatons, as well as the Hopkins sisters and their offspring, among the beneficiaries.[2] His wife, Anne Yale, was the subject of special concern. David Yale, her brother, was left £150 per annum "for her comfortable maintenance and to be disposed of by him for her good, she not being in a condition fit to manage it for herself"; and two legacies were not to be paid from the estate until after her death. One of these was a sum of £400, part of £1,200 bequeathed to a nephew, Henry Thompson. The other was the sum of £500 which would eventually be known as the Hopkins Charity. The clause reads, "His further Mind and Will was that within six months after the decease of Anne his then wife £500 should be made over or remitted into New England according to the advice of his loving Freinds Major Robert Thompson and Mr. Francis Willoughby and conveyed into the hands of the Trustees before mentioned in further prosecution of the aforesaid Public ends which he declared in the Simplicity of his heart was for the Uphold and Propagateing of the Kingdome of the Lord Jesus Christ in those parts of the Earth."[3]

There were thus two bequests for the benefit of schools and colleges in the New World; one charged on the New England estate, to be executed at the discretion of the trustees there, the other, charged on the English estate, to become payable to the same trustees on the death of his wife. The first need not detain us long. Henry Dally, the nephew whom Hopkins had made his executor, sent over a copy of the will and powers of attorney. The trustees held several meetings, with Davenport representing the colony of New Haven (Governor Eaton did not live long enough to serve) and Goodwin and Culleck the colony of Connecticut. Davenport later told the General Court of New Haven how he had appealed to Hopkins in 1655–1656 for help in starting a college, and how his old friend had replied, "That which the Lord hath given me in those parts I ever designed the greatest part of it for the furtherance of the work of Christ in those ends of the earth, and if I understand that a college is begun and like to be carried on, at New Haven, for the good of posterity, I shall give some encouragement thereunto." Perhaps if he had lived longer, and Davenport had been able to convince him that a start could be made, he might have made an explicit provision for this purpose; but we have seen how the charge to the trustees was left in very general terms. In the

[2] For the Yale-Eaton relationships, see E. Oviatt, *op. cit.*, 18–19.

[3] Iveagh MSS. O.5; see note 1, above.

event, it was agreed to give Harvard College £100 out of the £1,000 which the estate might yield, and to divide the balance between Connecticut and New Haven. As Harvard's total "stock" had been under £500 when Treasurer Danforth took over in 1654, this was no mean addition. It was consigned in corn and meat to a Charleston merchant who became indebted to the college for the principal and interest. As for the balance of the estate, it led in time to the foundation of grammar schools in Hartford, Hadley, and New Haven, but nothing came of Davenport's hopes that some of it might be used for a new college.[4]

Meanwhile, the poor widow lived on. Henry Dally, Doctor of Physic in the University of Cambridge, England, had taken possession of the Hopkins estate in April 1657. He enjoyed it for a decade, making his own will on 31 July 1665 and dying in 1667. Under this instrument, Everard Exton, gentleman, was to be his executor and to have a legacy of £100 if he accepted the duties. Dally's principal beneficiaries were to be his sisters and their children; one sister, Elizabeth, had married a Nowell and the child of this marriage, Rebecca Nowell, was to marry George Knighton; the other sister, Patience, married Thomas Fitch, producing a son, Henry, and two daughters, whom we know by their married names as Phillippa Coleman and Judith Page. The will provided that the manor of Thickoe should pass to Dally's nephew, Henry Fitch, while the rest of the estate, after the payment of various legacies and debts, should be turned into cash for the purchase of a property to maintain the two sisters and their offspring. Meanwhile, Edward Hopkins' wishes were not forgotten, for the executor was reminded of the obligation to produce £500 on the death of Anne Hopkins.[5]

Everard Exton accepted his legacy and took possession of an estate which was later said to have been worth at the very least £4,000.[6] Deals were made, interests exchanged, and heirs died, while Anne Hopkins endured. Everard Exton may, or may not, have been a good executor. The surviving heirs seemed to have had their doubts, for they brought an action against him in the Exchequer to compel him to reach some settlement and later claimed that he had managed to frustrate them for twenty-five years.[7] We are not surprised to learn that when Anne Hopkins

[4] For further details, see E. Oviatt, *op. cit.*, 84–85; J. H. Trumbull, *op. cit.*, I. 341, 374, 578; S. E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), II. 362; *Harvard College Records* (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XV, XVI [1925]), I. 199, 215.

[5] These facts are summarized in the Information (Iveagh MSS. O.5) and the subsequent proceedings of the court.

[6] *Ibid.* [7] Iveagh MSS. O.13.

finally died in 1699, forty-two years after her husband, nothing was done about the legacy. According to the terms of the governor's will, £500 ought to have been transferred to his trustees in New England, if there was still that much in the estate, and if everyone did their duty. But the overseers, Thompson and Willoughby, were dead; the original trustees were also dead; and Mr. Everard Exton, on whom the responsibility primarily rested, seems to have been otherwise engaged.

Eight years later, the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England instituted a suit in the Court of Chancery. Everard Exton, George Knighton and his wife, Rebecca, Patience Fitch and her daughters, Phillippa Coleman and Judith Page, were charged with confederating to defraud the charitable intentions of Edward Hopkins, and a full discovery was sought to show why the £500, plus interest, should not be paid. It was natural enough for the Corporation to bring suit. Floated on a wave of missionary enthusiasm in Puritan England, and given a royal charter at the Restoration, it was committed to an attempt to convert the Indian, in which Harvard College played an indispensable part. "They looked upon themselves to be more concerned in promoting the Interest of the Colledge than any other persons, for without the Colledge they could not carry on the work of converting the Indians to the Christian religion, the Ministers both Indians and English that are employed in that service being educated in that College." Already charged with the transmission to New England of the income from Robert Boyle's foundation, they might well be eager to implement Edward Hopkins' will.[8] But who was it that got them started? There is nothing in the records of Harvard College, or the Bay Colony, to suggest that the initiative came from there, and the ignorance shown by the Corporation about the benefits which Harvard had already received from the Hopkins estate tends to confirm the supposition that the action was started in London.[9] Whoever first broached it, it is clear that Matthew Evans claimed the major credit; and it may well be that the matter was first brought to his attention by his knowledge of the proceedings in the Exchequer, where certain disclosures must have been made about Exton's obligations.[1]

[8] See Appendix 4.

[9] Everard Exton made certain admissions in his answer to the bill which caused the Corporation to wonder if the legacy from the *New England* estate had ever been discharged. They took counsel's opinion and were advised that they could sue for a discovery of what happened to the New England estate through the Attorney General there (Statement of the Case, with Mr. How's opinion, 14 March 1708/9; Iveagh MSS. O.3).

[1] This is one interpretation which may be placed on the remark in his letter (see

The hearing in the case of the Attorney General v. Everard Exton *et al.* was held on 9 July 1709. The defendants denied combination, admitted some knowledge of Edward Hopkins' intentions, and offered various extenuations. Exton's main defense was that after he had discharged his other duties as an executor he had never had enough funds to meet this claim.[2] He stood ready to do so, as far as the estate went, but when it came to an account he wanted two debts taken into consideration which Hopkins had owed Henry Dally—fifty tons of salt, which the nephew had sent to Connecticut, and seven horses at £14 a horse! The Fitches wanted the same debts remembered, if it came to an accounting; but their main line was to remind the court that they had been trying to get a settlement out of Exton for the last twenty-five years.[3] The hearing terminated with an order for Thomas Gery, a Master of the Court. He was to examine the assets which had passed from Hopkins to Dally, and from Dally to Exton, to determine whether there had been enough funds to fulfill the testator's intention, and to take evidence about the existence of colleges and schools in New England to which the legacy, if recovered, might be applied.[4] Judging from the form in which the order was originally drafted, its author had either never heard of Harvard or thought it was in Jamaica.[5]

A year and a half elapsed before Mr. Gery made his report. It is unreasonable to suppose that much of this time was spent locating Harvard or discovering what went on there. The London agents could easily have enlightened the court and it seems that after suitable entertainments at various taverns, Mr. Evans produced some witnesses, among whom was Jeremiah Dummer, the agent for New England.[6] The subsequent report on colleges and schools in New England contains no especial novelties, but it is interesting to see what a Master of the Chancery had to say on the subject in 1711. This is presumably the earliest judicial notice of Harvard by a court of the mother country.[7]

Appendix 7). On the other hand, he may only be claiming credit for the *success* of the action, which depended in part on his use of the proceedings in the Exchequer case. Iveagh MSS. O.14, O.17.

[2] Iveagh MSS. O.13. Exton said, among other things, that the Fitches had insisted the £500 was theirs, because the trustees originally appointed by Edward Hopkins were all dead and nobody had come forward to claim the legacy. For his own part, he said he had advanced the Fitches more than they would probably get under the final settlement, and therefore never felt able to do anything about the legacy.

[3] Joint and Several Answers of Patience Fitch, widow, Phillippa Coleman and Judith Page, Iveagh MSS. O.18. See also O.19, O.20.

[4] Iveagh MSS. O.7. [5] See Appendix 2.

[6] Recorded in the statement of costs, Iveagh MSS. O.4. [7] See Appendix.

The time-consuming factor was doubtless the difficulty of tracing the Hopkins estate during the past half century. Some destructive events had intervened, such as the fire of London which consumed the inventories in the prerogative court;[8] and it may be presumed that Mr. Exton was no more coöperative than a due respect for the law required him to be. But there were limits to evasion. On 10 February 1710/11 Mr. Gery reported, in effect, that there was no reason why the testator's intentions should not have been fulfilled, and an order was duly made by the Lord Keeper after a hearing on 7 March. The defendant Exton was to pay £500 with interest at 5 per cent for the years that had elapsed since the death of Mrs. Hopkins. This sum (about £800) was to be invested in a purchase of lands in New England "by the approbation of the Master in the names of the Relators (*i.e.* the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel) but in trust for the benefit of the College and Grammar School." The Attorney General, after hearing counsel, would determine the shares of college and school, and the Master would put the funds in government securities until a suitable purchase could be found.[9]

At this point Sir William Ashurst, Matthew Evans, and the other officers of the Corporation doubtless thought their work well done. But they had not reckoned with Harvard. News of the Corporation's suit must have reached Boston early in 1709, and the abstracts of Edward Hopkins' will which were entered in the Harvard records at this time were doubtless those which Matthew Evans had forwarded.[1] The prospect of getting £500 from a donor in 1710 must have aroused as much excitement as £5,000,000 would now. At a college meeting in June, Increase Mather brought in some records showing how the Boyle Charity was being paid by the Corporation,[2] and there was probably some discussion of what we would call "Foundation Policies." But all we have is the bare resolution, "That Mr. Henry Newman be constituted our Agent or Attorney to represent us and to act in our behalf, particularly with respect to the legacy in Mr. Edward Hopkins will referring to our College . . . and that £40 be remitted to him for prosecuting said affair."[3]

Mr. Newman first contented himself with a watching brief. We have his own words that on learning from the Corporation that nothing would

[8] On 11 December 1710 Matthew Evans applied for permission to use the Exchequer proceedings (Fitch v. Exton) as a means to discover what assets of Edward Hopkins came into the hands of Henry Dally, on the grounds that the inventory of Hopkins' estate had perished in the fire.

[9] Decree of 7 March 1710/11. Iveagh MSS. O.13.

[1] *Harvard College Records*, *op. cit.*, II. 836–837.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, I. 388.

be done to prejudice the college's interest, he abstained from any conduct that would embarrass the suit.[4] But once the suit was won, the feeling that the college could do without the Corporation—at least as a trustee in this matter—got the upper hand. Mr. Newman's petition speaks for itself: and so does the Corporation's answer.[5] The sensation of mutual annoyance must have been sharp and painful. To us, who have formed the impression that without the initiative of the London Corporation, there might have been no Hopkins Charity, it may well seem that the college administration was less than gracious. But it was only human to want complete control. The upshot was a new court order, to give the interested parties a chance to iron out their differences and find a compromise.

At a college meeting on 20 August 1711, the treasurer was empowered to send Mr. Newman more money, if it was needed, and to direct him "to insist upon, and Obtaine, if it may be, that the Trust of the said Legacy be Invested in the President and Fellows of Harvard College: but not to oppose the Grammar Schools having part of the said Legacy."[6] This was their answer to the Corporation's contention that they had no right to assume control of a benefaction which was intended for more than them. Eventually the negotiators (Mr. Evans for the Corporation, Mr. Newman for the college, and Mr. Dummer for the school) reached a compromise with which it would be very hard to quarrel—a special body of trustees, located in New England, and staffed with every imaginable notability in and around Boston. If the college had lost the battle to wrest control for itself from the London Company, it had at least secured a Corporation of all the talents on its own doorstep. The composition of this body, the distribution of benefits between the college and the Cambridge Grammar School, and the ground rules for the competition for aid among qualified applicants can all be studied in Appendices 5 and 6.

This is no place to dwell on the importance of the Hopkins Charity to a struggling frontier college, or to sketch its history from that day to this. But how much light has the candle shed on its origins?

In 1889 Charles P. Bowditch, secretary of the trustees, compiled a brief history of the Trust from the records in this country, for private circulation. He supplied an outline of the litigation, printed the Agreement of the Parties on the Administration of the Charity[7] and Edward Hopkins' will, and devoted a masterly appendix to the insinuation that Harvard had muscled in on a legacy which ought to have gone to Yale. The docu-

[4] Henry Newman's petition, Iveagh MSS. O.15.

[5] See Appendices 3 and 4. [6] *Harvard College Records*, *op. cit.*, I. 398.

[7] I.e., the document printed in Appendix 6, below; see Bowditch, *op. cit.*, 12–14.

ments here printed fill several gaps in the legal record and suggest one or two adjustments in the accepted tradition. The view that the "Deturs," as prizes for merit rather than helps for the needy, were first instituted by President Holyoke,[8] can hardly survive the examination of the original deed. We read there that successful fellowship candidates, among the M.A.'s and B.A.'s, were to be taxed two shillings in the pound "to buy books to reward the Industry of such undergraduates, as shall distinguish themselves by their applicacon to their Studies . . . and that in the Election of Batchelors of Art to receive the benefitt of this Charity, regard be first had to such undergraduates as shall by their Industry have obtained a Reward in the manner aforesaid."[9]

More interesting is the rôle of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel, with its paternal eye on the frontier "School for Prophets"—initiating the suit and carrying it to a successful conclusion, only to discover that its protégé had its own ideas about who should be the trustees.

As for the view which is still expressed that "it is by no means clear whether Governor Hopkins had intended to leave this to Harvard, or to the College at New Haven which was being talked of even in his lifetime,"[1] we may let Matthew Evans speak for himself, in the letter which he wrote when the whole litigation was over: "there has lately beene a claim laid to some part of this Charity By some persons concerned for a new Erected Colledge in the province of Conneticott Mr Squibb being their Councell I waited upon him and shewed that there was two decrees signed and Inrolled and therefore they came too late nor could it be supposed that Mr. Hopkins could think of any Colledge that was not Existing when he made his will so that I beleive by that means I have put an End to any further dispute on that account."[2] Evans obviously had something to learn about Connecticut Yankees, but he seems to have the best of this argument.

Finally, it is of some small interest that a magnificent autograph letter,[3] adorned with the signatures of all the notabilities in early eighteenth-century Boston, has been lying unregarded in a Suffolk village for the last two and a half centuries. If a suitable passage could be contrived for it, without offending its courteous custodian, it would be very welcome here.

[8] S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 90.

[9] See Appendix 6.

[1] S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, 56.

[2] See Appendix 7.

[3] See Appendix 8.

APPENDICES

1. Chronology in Attorney General v. Everard Exton *et al.*
2. Judicial Notice of Colleges and Schools in New England, 1709-1711.
3. Petition of Henry Newman, esquire, on behalf of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1710/11.
4. Comments on the above Petition by Counsell for the Relators (The Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England).
5. The Attorney General's Report on the Hopkins Legacy, 1712.
6. The Agreement of the Parties on the Administration of the Charity (as annexed to the above report).
7. Letter of Matthew Evans, Solicitor, to John Gonson, Sub-Treasurer of the C.P.G.N.E. 26 March 1713.
8. Letter from the Trustees of the Hopkins Charity to Sir William Ashurst 1713/14.

1. *Chronology of Proceedings in Attorney General v. Everard Exton* et al.

8 December 1708	Attorney General filed an Information against Everard Exton, George Knighton and Rebecca, his wife, Patience Fitch, Phillippa Coleman and Judith Page, at the Relation of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel.
9 July 1709	Hearing of Bill and Answers terminated in an order for a Master of the Chancery, Mr. Thomas Gery, to examine accounts and take evidence.
10 February 1710/11	Mr. Gery made his Report.
7 March 1710/11	Hearing of Mr. Gery's Report terminates in an order for the recovery of the Legacy and the creation of a Trust.
16 March 1710/11	A Petition against the above order filed by Henry Newman on behalf of President and Fellows of Harvard College.
20 March 1710/11	Newman's petition having been heard, the parties concerned were ordered to propose a better method of organising the Charity.
18 December 1712	Attorney General reports the agreement of the parties.
20 December 1712	Court confirms the above agreement.
29 January 1712/13	Court order of 20 December made absolute.

15 September 1713	Petition from Jeremiah Dummer, agent for New England, and Henry Newman, agent for Harvard, to allow Sir William Ashurst to receive the funds and remit them to the Trustees.
25 January 1713/14	Letter from all the Trustees of the Hopkins Charity to Sir William Ashurst.
30 March 1715	Mr. Gery reports that bonds have been taken from Sir William Ashurst, Jeremiah Dummer and Henry Newman for the remission to New England of £771 - 13 - 7, and the investment of this sum in accordance with the order of 18 December 1712.

2. *Judicial Notice of Colleges and Schools in New England 1709-1711*

1. Extract from the Chancery decree of 9 July 1709, in the case of Attorney General v. Everard Exton *et al.*, as originally drafted and amended:

"... in case the £500 legacye shall be recovered then the Court doth order and decree that the same be payd and applyed to the Schoole or Colledge in New England Jamaica for the Breeding upp of Schollars there in the Study of Divinity according to the Will of the said Testator Hopkins and in order thereto the examine Witnesses or New England said Master is to write to the Governor of Jamaica to bee informed ther there in the said Island where bee such Schoole or Colledge as is prescribed or mentioned in the said Testators Will and if noe such Schoole or Colledge there then to be informed and on what purposes founded what other Schoole or Colledge is there to the same uses and the said Master is to state to this Court how he findes the said matter and thereupon such further order and directions shall be given as shall bee just."

Iveagh MSS O.7

2. Extract from the Report of Thomas Gery, Master in Chancery, 10 February 1710/11:

"... and haveing looked into the Deposition of Witnesses taken before me itt appeares that there is and for the space of Sixty yeares or upwards there has been a Grammar School at Boston in New England free for all Schollars and maintained by the Inhabitants of the said Towne of Boston at the charge of about one hundred pounds per annum and that about Sixty or Seventy yeares agoe there was a Colledge and Schoole at Cambridge in New England called Harvard Colledge which was after pulled downe and reedified about thirty yeares since and called by the name of Harvard College from one Mr. Harvard

who was the founder or greatest benefactor to the first Colledge founded there and that about ten yeares agoe there was an additionall building made contiguous to or neare the same and called Stoughton Colledge from William Stoughton Esquire at whose charge the same was built both which are incorporated and consist of a President Vice President Treasurer three Fellows and Sundry Divines of the vicinity with power to the Governour Lieutenant Governour and Councell of the Country to act as Overseers or Visitors of the Same but the President and Vice President have the ordinary and immediate care and Government thereof and they with the three Tutors or Fellowes instruct the Students in the Liberall Arts and Sciences in the Rudiments of Divinity who after a Tryall of their prefficiency are promoted to the severall Degrees of Batchelor and Master of Arts and Batchelor and Doctor in Divinity at or on a convenient day held yearly in the month of July and the said Colledges are maintained partly by the yearely Income arising from the Endowment and Donations and partly by a tax or rate layed by order of the Generall Assembly of the County upon the whole province of the Mashachusetts Bay."

Iveagh MSS O.10

3. *The Humble Petition of Henry Newman Esquire for and on the behalfe of the President and Fellows of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge within the County of Middlesex in her Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. 16 March 1710/11.*

(After rehearsing the proceedings since the case opened)

That the said Master haveing lately made his Report and the matter thereof comeing on to be heard before your Lordshipp on the 7th day of this Instant month your Lordshipp was pleased to order and Decree that the Defendant Exton should bring the £500 before the said Master in 3 months with Interest at £5 per cent from 6 months after the death of Anne but if he should not bring the same in 3 months then to pay £6 per cent—and when the money should be brought the same should be invested in a purchase of Lands in New England by the Approbation of the Master in the Names of the Relators but in trust for the benefitt of the College and Gramar Schole according to such proportions as they should be Intitled and that Mr Attorney Generall should be attended and that he should consider what he thinks proper for the benefitt of the Colledge and what for the Schoole and to certifye the same and that the money should be putt out by the Master on Government security till a purchase can be found—

That your petitioner haveing had a Sight of the minuts taken at the said Hearing before your Lordship does humbly apprehend with great submission . . . that it may be very prejudiciall to the Interest of the said Colledge that the purchase should be made in the Name of the Relators for that the said president and Fellowes (who are a Corporation and capable to take) not haveing the Legall Estate of the Lands when purchased will not be able to lett Leases nor bring actions of Debt for Rent nor actions of Wast nor doe many other things But

in the Name and by vertue of powers from the Relators which may be very inconvenient as well as detrimentall to the said Colledge and in case the Relators are permitted to receive the Interest of the money till a Purchase is made there will be great Deductions for Commission money and other charges so that the said Interest will fall very short when it comes to be paid to the said president and fellowes besides which your petitioner humbly apprehends that the Apportioning the Charity in the manner directed by your Lordshipp may be to the prejudice of the said President and Colledge in all which matters the Councell for the Relators not being instructed and the said order not being yet past nor drawn up, your petitioner therefore most humbly prays that Councell for the said President and Fellowes may be heard etc.

Iveagh MSS O.14, 15

4. *Comments on Newman's Petition by Counsell for the Relators* (*The Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England*).

Upon the Petition of Henry Newman which can have no other Signification than to create charge, For:

THE PETITIONER, Mr. Newman is no party to this Suite Nor has he power from the Colledge as a Corporation to concerne himself in this affaire Save only a Letter of Attorney from the President and some of the Fellows of the Colledge who are not a Corporation Nor otherwise concerned than as private persons—And if this Charity shall come to their hands to dispose of it as they please It may be lost in time and defeat the Intent of the Donor whose Intent was to bring up scholars at the Grammer Schoolle as well as at the Colledge.

THE RELATORS undertooke this Suit purely to recover the mony from defendant Exton To be applied according to Mr. Hopkins will without designe of making any advantage to themselves But on the contrary to save charges both to the Colledge and Schoole

THAT it is insinuated by the Petition that if the purchase should be made in the Name of the Corporation (The Relators) That there would ensue great Deductions for commission mony and other charges much to the prejudice of the President and Fellowes of the Colledge

IN ANSWER to that suggestion, The Relators are a Corporation consisting of severall persons of Quality and others of Great Estate and that as a Corporation have proper Officers here in England and also New England who will transact the affairs of this Charity without the Deduction of one penny for Commission money or otherwise.

THAT the Honourable Mr Boyle having in his lifetime given the sume of £45 sterling per annum for the benefit of the said Colledge reposed the Trust thereof in the Relators as being a Body Politick to save the Charges of Commission money and other charges for the Good and benefitt of the Colledge which said sume of £45 is now constantly paid to the Colledge by their Commissioners in

New England, together with Currant Exchange without any deduction whatsoever

THAT the Relators looked upon themselves to be more concerned in promoting the Interest of the Colledge than any other persons For that without the Colledge they could not carry on the work of converting the Indians to the Christian Religion. The Ministers both Indians and English that are employed in that service being educated in that Colledge

THAT as to the suggestion in the Petition of letting leases and bringing actions etc, the Relators humbly suppose themselves capable of doing it as much as themselves to the advantage of the Colledge. Moreover it is now noe new thing in England for severall corporations and bodyes politick to be Trustees for Colledges Schooles and other Charityes, and are better managed by them than by private persons

THAT the Relators declare That they have noe designe in being Trustees in this matter But purely for the benefitt of New England and to preserve the Charity from being lost—And that neither they nor their Commissioners shall any ways dispose of the same without the Colledge's consent.

The Relators are against the lodging this Charity in the hands of the President and Fellows, For that by the Intention of the Testators some part thereof was to give some Incouragement for bringing up youth at the Grammar Schoole. But are ready to consent that the greatest part thereof shall goe for the benefitt of the Colledge.

5. *The Attorney General's Report relating to Mr. Hopkins Legacy of £500 to Harvard College, 18 December 1712*

In pursuance of an order made in this Cause the 7th day of March 1710 touching a Legacy of £500 and Interest for the same bequeathed by the last Will and Testament of Edward Hopkins for the breeding up of youth in the way of Learning for the Publick service both at the Grammar School and College at Cambridge in New England called Harvard College, and by the said Order Decreed to be laid out in purchase of Lands in New England in the Names of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in Trust for the Benefit of the said College and Grammar School, according to the several proportions they should be entitled unto, and whereby the Parties concerned were directed to attend Her Majesties Attorney Generall who was to certifye what he thought proper to be for the benefit of the College and what for the benefit of the School, And also in pursuance of a subsequent Order of the 20th March 1710 Whereby it was ordered, that the said money be Invested in the Purchase of Lands in New England to be approved by a Master unless the several Parties concerned should propose to the Attorney General some other advantagious way of laying out the same for Perpetuating the said Charity, both for the Grammar School and Colledge and the parties interested for the Grammar School and College are to name proper persons to Mr. Attorney General to be Trustees

for the said Charity and Mr. Attorney General is to certifie the same accordingly and whether the Purchase be most proper to be made in the name of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England or in the name of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, or in the name of such other Persons who shall be so named Trustees as aforesaid.

I have been attended by the Agents of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent in America, and also by Jeremy Dummer Agent for New England and who appears on behalf of the said School, and Henry Newman Agent for Harvard College at Cambridge, and the said Corporation for the Propagating the Gospel do not insist that the Purchase made with the said money shall be in the name of that Corporation, but that the moneys may be invested in Lands in New England and the purchase made in the names of the several Inhabitants of New England herein after named viz.

Joseph Dudley		Increase Mather Doctor in Divinity
William Tailer		Cotton Mather Doctor in Divinity
Isaac Addington		John Leverett President of Harvard College
Waitstill Winthrop	Esquires	
Samuel Sewal		Jeremiah Dummer
Eliachim Hutchinson		John Burnell — Esquires
Peter Sergeant		Thomas Brattle
Penn Townshend		William Brattle Minister of Cambridge
Edward Bromfield		Nehemiah Walter Minister of Roxbury
John Higginson		Daniel Oliver
Simon Stoddard		Thomas Fitch — Merchants at Boston

And I do approve thereof. And the said Jeremy Dummer and Henry Newman have proposed and agreed that three fourth parts of the said Principal and Interest be for the Benefit of the said Harvard College and the other fourth part thereof be for the said Grammar School, at Cambridge in New England which proportions I also approve of. And they have also proposed several Rules and Orders for the government of the said Charity, against which I have no objection, if this Honourable Court shall approve thereof, and that they may be inserted in the Deed of Purchase. Which Consents and Proposals are contained in the Paper annexed to this my Report signed as well on the behalf of the said Corporation as by the said Jeremiah Dummer and Henry Newman Dated this 18th day of December 1712

Edward Northey

6. *The Agreement of the Parties on the Administration of the Charity* (*as annexed to the Attorney General's Report*).

The Lord Keeper haveing referred the Parties concerned in recovering Mr. Hopkins's Legacy of five hundred pounds with the Interest three hundred pounds makeing in the whole eight hundred pounds given to Pious Uses in New

England to the opinion of the Attorney Generall for the Distribution of the said Charity and other matters relateing thereto mentioned in his Lordships Order.

All parties concerned have agreed humbly to propose to Mr. Attorney General that three fourths of the said eight hundred pounds and the produce thereof be for the benefit of Harvard College at Cambridge in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England for bringing up Students in Divinity and the Mathematicks for the service of the Country. And that the other fourth part and the produce thereof be for the benefit of the Grammar School at the said Town of Cambridge for bringing up Youth fitt to be sent to the said Colledge.

That the said eight hundred pound be vested in a Purchase of Houses or Lands in the said Province, to the end that the rents and profits thereof may be perpetuated to the benefit of the said Colledge and School in proportion as above mentioned. And that the purchase be made in the names of the persons following viz [as in A.G.'s report]

That the said Trustees be obliged to meet yearely the first Thursday in May at such place as they shall agree upon to consider on the affairs of their Trust and at other times *pro re nata* as the Treasurer shall give notice[4]

That Samuel Sewall Esquire be Treasurer for the first yeare to Commence from the first Thursday in May after the first meeting of the said Trustees.[5]

That seven and not less of the said Trustees make a Quorum to do business, all of them being duly warned.

That whenever any of the Trustees die or remove out of the Province, the remaining Trustees being not less than seven, be Impowered to Choose such persons to Compleate their number as a Majority of them shall agree upon.

That the three fourth parts of the Charity proposed to be appropriated to the Colledge be for the encouragement of four Batchelors of Art to reside at the Colledge and perform Publick Exercises in Theology in such manner as shall be approved by the president and Corporation of the Colledge.

That if four Batchelors of Art whose circumstances may require such Charitable assistance shall not be found at one time to accept thereof, it be in the power of the Corporation of the Colledge aforesaid to apply it in the same proportion among the Masters of art that shall reside at the Colledge.

[4] An earlier draft continued at this point with the following sentence, which was later struck out: "and that the said Trustees be Accountable to the General Assembly of the said Province for the management of their said Trust, when they shall be thereto required." Iveagh MSS. O.28, endorsed, "A copee of Agreement between Mr. Newman and Mr. Gunston for the settlement of Mr. Hopkins Charity."

[5] The earlier draft (see note 4, above) originally read: "to commence the Ist day of May after opening their Commission." This was queried as follows: "Qu: What is meant by Commission above mentioned? Is it intended that the Trustees be appointed by Commission under the Great Seal and thereby incorporated? Or that they be only named Trustees by my Lord Keepers Decree or order in Chancery? If the last, then it should be expressed to the following effect viz:—that Samuel Sewall Esquire be Treasurer for the first year to commence from the first day of May after the first Meeting of the said Trustees pursuant to my Lord Keepers Decree or order."

That no Master or Batchellor of Art shall enjoy his proportion or any part of the said Charity for more than the space of five years

That no Master or Batchelor receiving any of the publick money of the Colledge shall be entituled to any part of this Charity.

That every Master of Art, or Batchelor of Art, who shall be entituled to Receive part of this Charity be oblidged to pay after the rate of two shillings in the pound for what he shall so receive to the Treasurer of the College for the time being, towards makeing a fund for the use hereafter mentioned: Namely, to buy Books to reward the Industry of such undergraduates, as shall distinguish themselves by their applicacon to their Studies as the president for the time being shall think proper, and that in the Election of Batchelors of Art to receive the benefitt of this Charity, regard be first had to such undergraduates as shall by their Industry have obtained a Reward in the manner aforesaid.

As to the Grammar School it is our humble opinion that the aforesaid Quarter part proposed to be appropriated to it be given entirely to the Master of Cambridge School In Consideration of his Instructing in Grammar Learning five Boys who shall be Nominated by the President and Fellowes of Harvard Colledge, and the Minister of Cambridge for the time being, And that the said President and Fellowes and Minister or any three of them be visitors of the said School, to see that so many Children are Taught; and every yeare the week before the Commencement the Boys who shall receive the benefit of this Charity, shall give proof of their Proficiency in Learning, at such hour and place as the Visitors aforesaid shall think fitt to appoint.

All which is most humbly
submitted by Your Honours most
obedient humble servants
Jer. Dummer Agent for New England
Henry Newman Agent for Harvard
College at Cambridge in New England

Signed by order of the Company for
Propagating the Gospell in New England
and parts adjacent in America
Wm. Ashurst Governor
John Gunston Sub-Treasurer
John Clarke Clerke

Iveagh MSS O.32

7. *Letter of Matthew Evans, Solicitor, to Mr. Gonson, Sub-Treasurer of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel, 26 March 1713*

Sir,

Haveing now fully compleated the decree relating to Mr. Edward Hopkins Charitable legacye the opposition made by Mr. Newman together with the poverty of the persons out of whose estate the Cost given by the late Lord Chan-

cellor was to be paid has made my Bill to Rise higher then otherwise it would have done. I have beene as moderate in it as I could to get anything by it Considering the great Trouble I have had by the opositicon I unexpectively meet with from the parties Concerned without reaping any advantage thereby has beene the occasion of much more expence then was needfull I have been oblidged to signe and inroll the severall decrees which are carefully performed and the records thereof will the next Terme be carried over to the Chappell of the Rolls to be preserved which you shall see done I have prepared Close Coppies Examined by the records and attested *to be by your Corporacon sent into New England to your agents the Trustees there* and I think it proper for the office Coppies of the same decrees and the originall orders and Reports to be put up in a Small Box to be lodged with your corporacon for safe Custody which I will in a short time put in order for that purpose I have let Mr. Newman take coppies of the said decrees for the benefit of Harward Colledge there has lately beene a claim laid to some part of this Charity By some persons concerned for a new Erected Colledge in the province of Conneticott Mr. Squibb being their Councell I waited upon him and shewed that there was two decrees signed and Inrolled and therefore they came too late nor could it be supposed that Mr. Hopkins could think of any Colledge that was not Existing—when he made his will so that I beleive by that means I have put an End to any further dispute on that account. My Lord Keeper will order the subsequent costs to be allowed out of the Charitye But I am not willing to Encrease the Charge by needless motions and orders there will be occasion to apply to his Lordshipp for his order when you can heare of a Convenient purchase which will be a proper time and at the same Charge to apply for the cost But it may be done before if the Corporacon shall think fitt so to do I am to goe to Bristoll next weeke for three weeks and therefore thought fit to give you this account before I went out of Towne and being oblidged to settle accounts with my Clerke in Court for the signeing the decrees and other the proceedings the whole being now compleated I would Intreat the favour of you if it can conveniently be done to propose that I may have some money for that purpose I was promised A Gratuety for makeing the discovery which I presume had never beene But by my means or if it had could not beene Effected as now it is being I was fully Aprised of the whole matter upon the proceedings in the Court of Exchequer. But it was not upon any Expectation of a reward that I made the discovery But as a friend to Justice therefore shall leave that matter easie and at large to be considered of hereafter the meane time I have enclosed and sent the Bill of Cost distinguishing what was laid out and Expended in depending the suite before the late Lord Keeper that I could not get allowed before the Master from the subsequent cost since that time which I will Redily submit to have Taxed By a Master if required

March 26 1713

I am your humble servant
Matthew Evans

Iveagh MSS O.35

8. *Autograph Letter from the Trustees of the Hopkins Charity, Boston, to Sir William Ashurst, London, 25 January 1713/14.*

Sir,

We have from Mr. Newman the Decree in Chancery upon Mr. Hopkins Legacy, and the Result of Mr. Dummers and Mr. Newmans Petition[6] for the money being put into your Honours hands in Order to its being remitted to us, which was not so happy as we hoped it might have proved.

We render your Honour Our most Sincere Acknowledgments for your many good Offices with which you have been pleased to Favour our College, as in innumerable other instances so particularly in this Affair.

We have an intimation as if my Lord Chancellor might be induced to Grant the Petition of Our Agents upon Security given that the money should be Applyed here According to the Decree

We aske your Honour Leave to pray you to become Guarantee for us that we will faithfully pursue the Decree both as to the Purchase and as to the Applying of the Revenue of it According to the Rules prescribed by his Lordship in the best manner and as soon as possible.

It is impossible to proceed upon any thing unless we have the Money in Our hands but with The Greatest Disadvantages, and to the no Small diminution of the Charity.

Lastly, We are content the money rest in your honours hands until We Transmit Such Instruments or Pollicies of the Investiture thereof in Lands or other Real Estate for perpetuating the Charity According to the Decree as will be to Satisfaction And Indemnify you upon the Security Demanded by my Lord Chancellor.

Your Honours Obedient Humble Servants,
J. Dudley, William Tailer, Is Addington,
W. Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, E. Hutchinson,
Peter Sergeant, Penn Townshend,
Edw Bromfield, Simon Stoddard,
Increase Mather, Cotton Mather,
John Leverett, Jer. Dummer, John Higginson,
John Burrill, William Brattle, Nehemiah
Walter, Daniel Oliver, Tho. Fitch.

Boston, January 25
1713

[6] The object of this petition, made to the Court of Chancery on 15 September 1713, was to prevent losses; "the said money hath laine dead in the Master's hands which is a Losse to the said School and Colledge and the Exchange between London and New England is likely to fall very considerably in a short time which will be a further Lessening the said Charity." However, it was 22 December 1714 before the court order was obtained. Iveagh MSS. O.36; Bowditch, *op. cit.*, 14–15.

Annual Meeting
November, 1957

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston on Thursday evening, 21 November 1957. At the dinner which preceded the meeting, the Reverend DUNCAN HOWLETT said grace. Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, United States Navy, Director of Naval History, was the guest of the Society.

The President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, called the meeting to order at half after eight o'clock. Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read the Mayflower Compact.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

Among nominations reported from the Council to be acted upon at the December meeting was that of FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR, Director of the Worcester Art Museum, for Honorary Membership. In view of the serious illness of Mr. Taylor, the Society voted to suspend its usual rules, and to elect him an Honorary Member immediately. As Mr. Taylor died the following day, his membership in the Society was, unfortunately, the shortest on record.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Report of the Council

ALTHOUGH the Colonial Society began to meet in its House in February 1955, it was only on 20 November 1956 that its domestic arrangements had reached a point that permitted the holding of the Annual Meeting and Dinner at 87 Mount Vernon Street. At that time we had to borrow our china, through the kindness of Vice-President Adams; this year we have our own—perhaps not too elegantly matched, but purchased at a very reasonable rate when the Somerset Club decided to outfit itself with a new dinner service. The excellence of Mrs. Greene's cooking and the ease with which nearly eighty members fitted into seats at table made the Society's first dinner in its own House a very pleasant oc-

casion, which was enhanced by the presence of Ronald Syme, Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. At the stated meeting on 20 December 1956 Thomas R. Adams, now Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, spoke on the collections of the Chapin Library at Williams College of which he was then in charge. Richard G. Appel spoke on the Bay Psalm Book and its music on 28 February 1957, and on 25 April 1957 David McCord read a paper on the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Edward Hopkins, Governor of Connecticut. Some of the Trustees of the Charity of Edward Hopkins were present at the April meeting.

The Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly* by a grant of $3,500, and Mrs. Lovell Thompson continues to use the Library of this House for her office as Book Review Editor of the *Quarterly*.

Two volumes of *Transactions*, volumes 38 and 42, are in various stages of proofs, while the Reverend Richard D. Pierce is making steady progress with the editing of the records of the First Church of Boston, which will form volumes 39–41.

The furnishing of our House has benefited by the generosity of friends both within and without the Society. Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Channing have brought additional pieces of furniture to the William Ellery Channing room on the third floor, and have given a rug and desk for the library, which with the secretary owned by the first George Richards Minot that they gave last year, is becoming steadily more attractive. Sedgwick Minot has given one thousand dollars toward the furnishing of the library, which is still to be spent as appropriate pieces are found. The Museum of Fine Arts has lent a Washington Allston portrait of William Ellery Channing to the Channing room, and Mrs. Francis B. Crowninshield has lent small oil portraits of Mr. and Mrs. George Gibbs of Newport. Mrs. E. Sturgis Hinds has given a rug, sofa, chairs and other pieces of furniture, while Paul C. Cabot has given an Aubusson rug that fits the Cupid and Pysche room with extraordinary felicity. The dining room now rejoices in impressions of Hogarth's *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* from Walter G. Davis and the reception room a circular mirror from Laurence B. Fletcher. Mrs. Augustus Vincent Tack of Deerfield, a great-granddaughter of Stephen Higginson, Junior—the first occupant of this House—has given an urn that belonged to Stephen Higginson, Senior, a pair of Japanese cloissone vases presented to Rear Admiral Francis J. Higginson by the brother of the Emperor of Japan, two Chinese vases, and numerous books belonging to members of the Higginson family. During the year Mrs. Llewellyn Howland has made a third gift of twenty thousand dollars,

thus bringing the endowment of the House to sixty thousand dollars.

The following were elected to membership during the year:

Resident:

Edward Pierce Hamilton
Frederick Johnson
Benjamin Woods Labaree
Edwin Williams Small
Duncan Howlett
Abbott Lowell Cummings
William Rotch
Conover Fitch
Richard Bourne Holman
Frederick Josiah Bradlee

Corresponding:

Wesley Frank Craven
Alfred A. Knopf
Francis Lewis Berkeley

The Society has lost by death nine members:

Robert Dickson Weston, Resident, 1906, died on 30 November 1956. Herald and genial companion, whose knowledge of family history made him the Society's Registrar from 1927 to 1950, and whose sense of humor kept him from taking the duties of that office with excessive seriousness.

Joseph Burr Tyrell, Associate, 1928, Corresponding, 1936, died on 27 August 1957. An eminent Canadian geologist, mining engineer, and scholar, who traveled thousands of miles by canoe and snowshoe around Hudson's Bay, who edited the journals of earlier travelers for the Champlain Society, and all but reached the century mark.

Stewart Mitchell, Resident, 1929, died on 3 November 1957. Successor to Worthington C. Ford as Editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and its Director from 1947 until a few weeks before his death.

William Emerson, Resident, 1931, died 4 May 1957. Dean of Architecture of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for twenty years, and permanent benefactor of the Cambridge Historical Society by the bequest of his house in Brattle Street.

Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Resident, 1931, died on 8 February 1957. A fearless proponent of freedom, learned in the law, and an inspiring teacher, who served this Society as a member of Council from 1933 to

1936, from 1940 to 1943, and as Corresponding Secretary for the decade following 1933.

WILFRED JAMES DOYLE, Associate, 1934, Resident, 1950, died on 18 June 1957. City Clerk of Boston, a retiring and scholarly student of Boston history, who knew colonial officials intimately, and did much to safeguard and preserve the manuscript records of the city and county.

ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS, Resident, 1942, died on 23 May 1957. An architect and painter who, as a member of the Boston Art Commission, was invaluable in preserving the architectural and historical traditions of a city that he knew intimately and loved deeply.

JOSEPH BREED BERRY, Resident, 1947, died on 28 January 1957. A gentle, generous, and devoted scholar who died just as he was completing an account of the Episcopal church in Massachusetts during the nineteenth century.

LLEWELLYN HOWLAND, Resident, 1954, died on 5 January 1957. A good sailor, whose imaginative and perceptive writing, begun late in life, has preserved for the future certain unforgettable pictures of the New Bedford past.

In the absence of Mr. RICHMOND, Mr. WHITEHILL read a condensed summary of the following:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1957.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 14 NOVEMBER 1957

ASSETS

Cash:		
Principal	$15,374.15	
Income	*–8,666.32*	$6,707.83
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $186,346.25)	200,723.18	
Stocks (Market Value $293,239.25)	93,712.17	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,657.92	$338,093.27
TOTAL ASSETS		$344,801.10

FUNDS

Funds	$348,569.50
Unexpended Income	*–3,768.40*
TOTAL FUNDS	$344,801.10

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Income Cash Overdraft, 14 November 1956			*–$8,637.00*
RECEIPTS:			
Dividends		$11,537.75	
Interest		5,635.55	
Real estate tax rebate		3,148.00	
Annual Assessments		970.00	
Sales of Publications		503.01	21,794.31
Total Receipts of Income			$ 13,157.31
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Publications:			
New England Quarterly	$3,500.00		
Volumes 36–37	370.77		
Volumes 39–41	6,264.96	$10,135.73	
Expenses of 87 Mount Vernon Street Property:			
Renovations, maintenance and furnishings	2,026.81		
Heat and light	1,744.25		
Telephone and telegraph	271.59		
Insurance	265.64		
Water	42.00	4,350.29	
Editor's Salary and Expenses		1,700.00	
Secretarial Expense		980.00	
Annual Dinner		755.75	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings		274.90	
Auditing		250.00	
Miscellaneous Supplies and Expenses		233.12	
Gifts		120.00	
Storage		100.24	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Principal		2,563.63	
Interest on Albert Matthews Fund added to Principal		357.97	
Total Disbursements of Income			$21,823.63
Income Cash Overdraft, 14 November 1957			*–$8,666.32*

Mr. William Bradford Osgood reported that the Auditing Committee had employed Messrs. Arthur Young and Company to make an audit of the accounts and to examine the securities, and presented the report of that firm to the meeting.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE
Vice-Presidents SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
, THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS
Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY
Corresponding Secretary DAVID BRITTON LITTLE
Treasurer CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND
Member of the Council for Three Years WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Mr. DAVID MCCORD read a witty verse based upon a recent headline in the *Haverhill Gazette*, "Dr. Fuess and Poet McCord," over an item announcing their participation in the recent Whittier celebration. He then read a poem entitled, "My Mother's Poet" that he had written in honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Whittier's birth. Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON then addressed the Society on the subject of his recent investigations into the life of John Paul Jones.

December Meeting, 1957

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 19 December 1957, at three o'clock in the afternoon the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR on 22 November 1957, the day following his election to Honorary Membership in the Society.

Messrs. MALCOLM FREIBERG, of Belmont, and PAUL WHITMAN ETTER, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members, and Mr. THOMAS RANDOLPH ADAMS, of Providence, Rhode Island, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. WHITEHILL announced that the Council had commissioned a wood engraving of its House by Mr. THOMAS W. NASON, N.A., for presentation to Mrs. Llewellyn Howland as a token of the Society's appreciation. Proofs of this engraving may be purchased by members. It is reproduced as the frontispiece of this volume.

Mr. EDWIN WILLIAMS SMALL, read a paper entitled: "The Battle Road of the 19th of April 1775—Then and Now." The material presented by Mr. SMALL has subsequently been incorporated in *The Lexington-Concord Battle Road, April 19th, 1775,* issued by the Old Colony Trust Company, Boston, in 1960, and in the *Final Report of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission,* 87th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 107 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961), which he drafted for the Commission. Three members of this Society were members of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission during its existence: Mr. MARK BORTMAN, *Chairman,* Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, and Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

The Editor read a letter from the Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE to the Reverend Duncan Howlett, dated 3 December 1957 concerning:

The Latin Grace Used at the Society's Dinners

ONE day when I was in Oxford,—I think it must have been in 1924, though it may have been on an earlier visit,—I dropped in for a look at the great dining hall of Christ Church College. There I saw the Lectern which a student could mount to repeat the Latin grace which I saw pinned to the board, and which I liked so much that I copied it then and there. I have always supposed that it is of mediaeval origin, but have no evidence as to its date, though I have since seen another grace very similar to it but less perfect in wording.

After my return home I used it on a few occasions, and it always aroused interested inquiries. Then when the late Gus Loring (father of the present A.P.L.) was elected president of the Colonial Society, he asked me to say grace at the dinner and I ventured to use it, feeling that the colonial ancestors of those present would have understood it even if most of my modern hearers didn't. Loring was delighted and thereafter insisted that I repeat it each year, and after he died his successors in office carried on the "tradition" thus established some twenty years ago, in spite of my repeated remonstrances that some other parson's voice should be heard. Frankly, I was embarrassed to be thus distinguished year after year when men like Bishop Nash or Father Lord were never called upon.

This year when my doctor advised against my attendance at the dinner, I so informed Richard Gummere, who had stipulated that I use the Latin grace, and offered to give him a copy if he wanted to pass it on to another. Probably because of his illness a few days before the dinner he did not ask for it, hence your lapse into English,[1] which was the natural thing for you to do under the circumstances,—though I am interested, and not displeased to hear that there was regret that the Latin form was not used.

I have told the tale at this length for your guidance, or that of others, should the question of the Latin grace arise in years to come, and enclose herewith a copy of the Latin, with my translation. Perhaps you will think it worthwhile to preserve this story, should there be a request that the "tradition" thus established be renewed next year. I hope then to be present,[2] for my health is now much improved, but at my age predictions are vain illusions.

[1] Mr. Howlett had used an English grace at the dinner on 21 November 1957.

[2] Mr. Foote happily returned for the dinner on 21 November 1958, although in the following years he was unable to be present.

Gratias Tibi agimus, Deus omnipotens,
pro his ac universis donis Tuis,
quae de Tua largitate accepimus,
qui es Dominus Deus in sæcula sæculorum.
Amen.

We give Thee thanks, Almighty God, for
these and for Thy other countless gifts,
which we receive from Thy bounty, O Thou
who art Lord God, forever and ever.
Amen.

February Meeting, 1958

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 February 1958, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. MALCOLM FREIBERG and PAUL WHITMAN ETTER, accepting election to Resident Membership, and from Mr. THOMAS RANDOLPH ADAMS, accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. JOHN BRYANT PAINE, Jr., of Weston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The President announced that copies of Mr. FRANCIS W. HATCH's broadside poem "Beef before baubles," written in defence of the Faneuil Hall butcher stalls, were available for any members who wished to have them.

Mr. ABBOTT LOWELL CUMMINGS read a paper entitled: "The Rise of the Architectural Profession in Boston in the Eighteenth Century."

April Meeting, 1958

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 April 1958, at a half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. JOHN BRYANT PAINE, Jr., accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

The Reverend RICHARD D. PIERCE gave an account of his work on the records of the First Church of Boston, which he has edited for publication by the Society as volumes 39, 40, 41.

Annual Meeting
November, 1958

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Friday evening, 21 November 1958. At the dinner which preceded the meeting, the Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace. Dr. William J. Robbins of the American Philosophical Society was the guest of the Society.

The President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, called the meeting to order at eight o'clock. Mr. HENRY HORNBLOWER, II, read the Mayflower Compact.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Report of the Council

SINCE the last Annual Meeting the Society has held three Stated Meetings in this House. On 19 December 1957, Edwin W. Small read a paper entitled "The Battle Road of the 19th of April 1775—Then and Now"; on 27 February 1958, Abbott Lowell Cummings spoke on "The Rise of the Architectural Profession in Boston in the Eighteenth Century," and on 24 April 1958, the Reverend Richard D. Pierce reported to the Society on the records of the First Church of Boston, which he is editing for publication in our *Collections*.

On 2 July 1958 the Massachusetts Historical Society joined the Colonial Society in giving a party at 87 Mount Vernon Street to a delegation of the Government of Nova Scotia, headed by Premier Stanfield, that had come to Boston in connection with the celebration of the bicentenary of representative government in Nova Scotia.

The Society's House has been used by the Harvard History Department and other historical organizations during the year. On 18 October 1958 it was open to visitors in the Beacon Hill tour arranged by the League of Women Voters. The furnishing of the House has progressed materially through the kindness of many friends. Upon the death of Mrs. William Crowninshield Endicott, whose husband was a Resident Member of the

Society from 1910 to 1936, and its Treasurer from 1922 to 1931, her nephew, Benjamin W. Thoron, in company with his sisters and brother, gave many of the furnishings of 163 Marlborough Street to the Society. Mr. and Mrs. Endicott's houses were packed with singularly handsome objects, both inherited and of their own collecting. The pair of great gold mirrors in our meeting room—originally from the house of his grandfather, George Peabody, in Washington Square, Salem—the crystal chandelier in the library, and numerous chairs, clocks, candelabra and handsome pieces of china preserve in 87 Mount Vernon Street some memory of the Marlborough Street house. Furniture and paintings have been given by Miss Ruth Richardson and Messrs. T. Jefferson Coolidge, Russell Sturgis Paine, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, and William Bradford Osgood. Mrs. Llewellyn Howland has made her fourth annual gift of $20,000, thus raising the endowment fund of the House to $80,000.

1958 has been a remarkable year in that for the first time a member of this Society, Richard James Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, elected an Honorary Member in 1947, has been elevated to the College of Cardinals.

The following members have been elected during the year:

Resident:

MALCOLM FREIBERG
PAUL WHITMAN ETTER
JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

Corresponding:

THOMAS RANDOLPH ADAMS

Honorary:

FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR

By unprecedented misfortune, two of the five gentlemen above, in addition to another relatively recent member, have died during the year.

FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR, elected an Honorary Member at the last Annual Meeting, died the following day, 22 November 1957. Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for fifteen years, he had recently returned to the directorship of the Worcester Art Museum, where he had made his mark in the thirties. A Philadelphian by birth, a witty and irreverent Frenchman by temperament, he was a cheerful addition to the institutional landscape of Massachusetts. Upon settling in Worcester for the second time, he began to take an active rôle in the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society. His premature death deprived the United States of a sorely needed voice that spoke with

authority in matters of taste, and removed from this region a new and valued ally in the cause of Massachusetts history.

Paul Whitman Etter, elected a Resident Member on 19 December 1957, was wantonly killed on 23 May 1958 in an accident caused by the ill-considered zeal with which police officers were hotly pursuing a stolen car. A graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1951, he traveled in Europe and was a member of the staff of the Worcester Art Museum before becoming Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Few men have made so permanent a mark in a Boston institution in so short a time, or have been more sincerely mourned.

Laurence Brown Fletcher, Resident, 1953, died 30 June 1958. A lover of the New England scene, its birds, and its antiquities, who, as Secretary of the Trustees of Reservations, did much to preserve the natural amenities of the region for future generations.

No publications have been issued during the year, although the Society has continued as copublisher of the *New England Quarterly*.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1958.

Statement of Assets and Funds, 14 November 1958

ASSETS

Cash:		
Principal	$15,644.24	
Income	*−687.48*	$14,956.76
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $244,413.00)	254,134.82	
Stocks (Market Value $332,949.00)	90,333.14	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,777.75	
Savings and Loan Association Deposits	40,000.00	388,245.71
Total Assets		$403,202.47

FUNDS

Funds	$403,889.95
Income deficit	*−687.48*
Total Funds	$403,202.47

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance, 14 November 1957			*–$8,666.32*
RECEIPTS:			
Dividends		$10,577.95	
Interest		9,792.53	
Annual Assessments		960.00	
Sales of Publications		165.40	
Gifts for Current Purposes		75.00	
Transfers from principal cash:			
Interest accumulation of U. S. Savings Bonds		4,240.00	
Interest added to Savings Bank Deposit		657.92	26,468.80
Total Receipts of Income			$17,802.48
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Publications:			
New England Quarterly	$3,500.00		
Volumes 39–41	208.88		
Miscellaneous	42.50	3,751.38	
Expenses of 87 Mount Vernon Street Property:			
Renovations, maintenance, and furnishings	4,081.11		
Heat and light	1,903.03		
Insurance	740.77		
Telephone and telegraph	351.17		
Water	65.50	7,141.58	
Editor's Salary		1,500.00	
Secretarial Expense		900.00	
Annual Dinner		846.26	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings		463.41	
T. W. Nason Wood Engraving		400.00	
Auditing and Accounting Services		400.00	
Miscellaneous Supplies and Expenses		300.29	
Gifts		100.00	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Principal		2,362.46	
Interest on Albert Matthews Fund added to Principal		324.58	
Total Disbursements of Income			$18,489.96
Income Cash Overdraft, 14 November 1958			*–$687.48*

Mr. William Bradford Osgood reported that the Auditing Committee had employed Messrs. Arthur Young and Company to make an audit of the accounts and to examine the securities, and presented the report of that firm to the meeting. Mr. Osgood stated that the Committee had complete confidence in the Treasurer and in the professional competence of Messrs. Arthur Young and Company, even though the names of some of the companies in which the Society had money invested seemed singularly inappropriate. Mr. Osgood's report, like the Treasurer's report of the late Robert Benchley, was unanimously and hilariously accepted, and with the other reports, referred to the Committee on Publications.

The following amendments to the By-laws of the Society, recommended by vote of the Council of 6 November and printed in the notice of the Annual Meeting, were adopted.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President Richard Mott Gummere
Vice-Presidents Samuel Eliot Morison
Thomas Boylston Adams
Recording Secretary Robert Earle Moody
Corresponding Secretary David Britton Little
Treasurer Carleton Rubira Richmond
Member of the Council for Three Years Myron Piper Gilmore

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Mr. David McCord read his poem "The Man with the Vellum Valise,"[1] which is an affectionately satirical portrait of the confused activities of the Society's Editor of Publications. Mr. Bernard Bailyn then addressed the Society on "The Relevance of Colonial History."

[1] Printed in [L. H. Butterfield *et al.*, ed.] *Walter Muir Whitehill, A Record Compiled by His Friends* (Minot, Massachusetts: privately printed, 13 September 1958), 3–6.

December Meeting, 1958

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 18 December 1958, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

Messrs. GILBERT RUSSELL PAYSON, of Boston, and ALDEN PORTER JOHNSON, of Worcester, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. WENDELL D. GARRETT read a paper entitled: "Apthorp House: The First Fifteen Years." The material presented was subsequently included in his book *Apthorp House 1760–1960* published, with a preface by Reuben A. Brower and an introduction by Walter Muir Whitehill, by Adams House, Harvard University, in 1960 in commemoration of the bicentenary of the building that has been for the past three decades the Master's residence of Adams House.

February Meeting, 1959

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 February 1959, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the death of PETER OLIVER, a Non-Resident Member, that had occurred on 17 February. He further reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. GILBERT RUSSELL PAYSON and ALDEN PORTER JOHNSON, accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. WENDELL DOUGLAS GARRETT was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported on a proposed journey to Charlottesville, Virginia, scheduled for April by invitation of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and of four members of the Society on the faculty of the University of Virginia.

Mr. LEONARD C. FABER, Assistant Editor of The Adams Papers, read a paper entitled: "Two Centuries of the Quincy Family."

Journey to Charlottesville
11-13 April 1959

THE Colonial Society's visit to Charlottesville began for certain members with a visit en route to the Henry Francis duPont Museum at Winterthur, Delaware, on Saturday, 11 April 1959. Mr. and Mrs. Ebenezer Gay, Mr. David McKibbin, Mr. Charles R. Strickland, Mr. and Mrs. John B. Paine, Jr., Mr. David P. Wheatland, and Mr. Gilbert R. Payson were at Winterthur, and spent the day visiting the Museum through the kindness of our Honorary Member, Mr. duPont, and his Director, Mr. Charles F. Montgomery, who arranged for a special opening at a time when the Museum is ordinarily closed. Mr. duPont gave a luncheon for the members of the Society at his house.

Mr. and Mrs. Paine returned to Boston from Winterthur, but the others continued to Charlottesville where they were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Julian P. Boyd and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Muir Whitehill who had arrived earlier for the meeting of the Directors of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, by Mr. David McCord who had come from a lecture at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, by Mr. Lester J. Cappon from Williamsburg, and by Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Howlett from Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Douglas H. Gordon of Baltimore were also there as guests of the Society.

In spite of spring weather during the preceding week the visitors were greeted by a snowstorm on the afternoon of Sunday, 12 April, which continued intermittently into the following day. Although this made walking somewhat inconvenient it in no way diminished the pleasure of arrangements made indoors. On Sunday at 4 P.M. there was a tea at the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia in connection with the opening of an exhibition of pictures of Monticello arranged by James A. Bear, Jr., Curator of Monticello. This first event at the Alderman Library gave the Society an opportunity to see its Corresponding Member, Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., in his native habitat. At 5 P.M. our Non-Resi-

dent Member, Charles C. Abbott, Dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration gave a cocktail party at Pavilion VI East Lawn. It is worth noting that of the four members of the Society on the Faculty of the University of Virginia, three are attached to the Graduate School of Business Administration, Dean Abbott, Dr. John D. Forbes, and Dr. William Rotch, who were present with Mr. Berkeley and with their wives throughout the Society's visit. Dean Abbott had invited to this party a number of Faculty members and friends.

At 7 P.M. President Darden of the University of Virginia gave a dinner for the Society and for the University's guests who had come to Charlottesville for the celebration of Founder's Day in the Dogwood Room at Newcomb Hall.

On the morning of Monday, 13 April, Professor Frederick D. Nichols of the School of Architecture took the members of the Society on a guided tour of the Jefferson buildings at the University. At 11 A.M. President Colin B. Mackay of the University of New Brunswick gave a Founder's Day address in Cabell Hall, and at 12:30 the members of the Society were the guests of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation for luncheon at the Farmington Country Club.

After luncheon there was an opportunity to visit Monticello where, at 3 o'clock, an address was given by J. Russell Wiggins, Executive Editor of the *Washington Post*, after which commemorative exercises were held at the grave of Thomas Jefferson on the hillside below the house.

After the visit to Monticello a number of the members of the Society began to disappear in various directions. The survivors were given supper by Mr. and Mrs. William Rotch at their house at 806 Cabell Avenue, and attended the Annual Meeting of the Albemarle County Historical Society in the Albemarle County Court House at which Walter Muir Whitehill spoke on the subject "Boston and Monticello," reading extracts from the correspondence between George Ticknor and Thomas Jefferson. At the close of the meeting of the Society Mr. and Mrs. James A. Bear, Jr., asked the guests to their house in Stadium Road.

Altogether Thomas Jefferson's birthday was strenuously cele-

brated with speech making morning, afternoon, and evening, but with adequate quantities of whiskey and food between the speeches. We cannot be too grateful to our members in Delaware and Virginia for their kindness to the small group who made the trip.

April Meeting, 1959

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 April 1959, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in February were read and approved.

The Treasurer reported the receipt of $9,082.37, bequeathed to the Society by James Lyman Whitney, elected a Resident Member in 1898 who resigned in 1910, which had been set up in a fund without restrictions as to its use.

Messrs. JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY and RUDOLPH RUZICKA, of Boston, were elected Honorary Members; Mr. LEONARD CARL FABER, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. NICHOLAS BIDDLE WAINWRIGHT, of Philadelphia, a Non-Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. WHITEHILL reported on the journey to Charlottesville, Virginia.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. FRED NORRIS ROBINSON and ELLIOTT PERKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL and DAVID BRITTON LITTLE.

Mr. W. STEWART MACNUTT, Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick, read a paper entitled:

New England's Tory Neighbors

TO a greater extent than any other Canadian province New Brunswick is a by-product of the American Revolution. The visible evidences of this important historic fact have steadily diminished through the years but still today there are striking manifestations of the close connection between this new British colony of 1784

and what its founders sentimentally recalled as "the old Thirteen." The places of honor in the New Brunswick legislature, to the right and left of the speaker's throne, are occupied not by portraits of the present sovereign and her consort, but by those of King George III and Queen Charlotte, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds and purchased in 1821, the year following the king's death, by his afflicted subjects. The royal coat-of-arms of the province of Massachusetts Bay hangs in Trinity Church, Saint John, where it was finally deposited by Edward Winslow of Plymouth after he had rescued it from the rancor of the rebels during the evacuation of Boston in 1776. A gentleman of Fredericton possesses the drinking mugs, said to be the finest silverware in Canada, of the first Edward Winslow of Plymouth to whom Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts owed so much. The University of New Brunswick, in frequent recollection of its founders, has had occasion to recall that it, too, is a product of the American Revolution. Of the seven loyal refugees who in 1785 addressed Governor Carleton for the establishment of an academy of liberal arts and sciences six were New Englanders.

New England had always looked to the great seaward area of Acadia or Nova Scotia that hovered over its eastern approaches as a land to be occupied by her children and grandchildren. Her fishermen had enjoyed the free use of its creeks and inlets, its beaches and islands for the purposes of their trade. Half a dozen times the French and once the Dutch had been the victims of expulsions or token expulsions in consequent of the truculent attitude of proprietorship over this undefined, debatable land that was so pronounced at Boston, Salem and Marblehead. New Englanders had occupied the rich marshlands of the Acadians, had brought to Nova Scotia the outspoken qualities of their democracy that resulted in the establishment of the first representative assembly in what is today Canada. To use the expression of a native Canadian who became a distinguished American historian, Nova Scotia was New England's outpost. The short sea voyage of two or three days made the country the logical repository for the surplus energies of New Englanders. Boston was the metropolis for the first English-speaking inhabitants of Nova Scotia. It is not surprising that a century later a Canadian governor-general on a visit to the Maritime Provinces spoke with a certain degree of annoyance on the prevalence of the Boston cut and the Yankee twang.

The cultural and commercial pattern was to remain for a long time unchanged but Nova Scotia with its sister province, New Brunswick, partitioned from it in 1784, became, in consequence of the Revolution, a New England *irredenta*. Generations of New Englanders had fought

for the triumph of their interests and their ideals in this northern hinterland. During the rebellion it had seemed possible that the American population of Nova Scotia would rise to declare their independence from the Crown and become the fourteenth colony in revolt. But Nova Scotia became a land in which the dispossessed and despised Tories ruled. Scarcely had the peace of 1783 been signed when Lord Sydney, the Colonial Secretary, declared that Nova Scotia should become the envy of all the American states. Thirty thousand Tory Loyalists, including, it was widely proclaimed, most of the men of honor, talent and education of the thirteen colonies had come to its shores. A new British Empire in North America would rise from the ashes of the old. A new dispensation would preserve the proper gradations in society, would award to deserving subjects of the Crown the preferments of public office. A landed gentry and an established church would guarantee that the leveling principles of New England could make no impact on the minds of men who would rejoice in the stations in life to which it had pleased God to call them. Parliament agreed that the laws of trade and navigation should remain in effect and the rebellious Americans would be made to realize the high price they had paid for their independence. The commerce of New England would be crushed. The British colonies, enriched by the bounty of the mother country and governed by enlightened principles, would draw off from the American states the best elements in their populations who would flee from the anarchy that was certain to prevail and from the demagogic government that held the loosely bound American confederacy together.

The eleven hundred Loyalists who left Boston with the British Army in June of 1776 were dispersed to the four winds. Many of them sat out the war in London, surveying with critical eye the conduct of affairs in America, pamphleteering and propagating their Loyalist sentiments, presenting to the British Government the account of their sacrifices and their hopes for compensation. The conclusion of the peace found a significant number of them taking up residence in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, especially on the new lands on the St. John River. The vast majority of those who opened up the greatest of the new areas of Loyalist settlement were those who had spent the war within the British lines at New York and who hailed from the middle colonies. But a very great proportion of those who managed the migration and who aspired to high office came from New England. The aspiration was, in the words of Edward Winslow, "the most gentlemanlike government on earth." Yet New Brunswick was to have a very turbulent political history and the

first conflict was one that might fairly be described as a fight between a New York democracy and a New England aristocracy. New Englanders, said an early issue of the *New Brunswick Gazette*, make good commissaries and foragers but dangerous legislators.

There were probably about a score of able New Englanders, mostly men in the prime of life, members of the oldest and most honored families in the country, who took leading places in the public life of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia after the Revolution. Most of them lived long lives, imparting their ideologies and their prejudices to the young provinces where they had chosen to make their homes. Probably the most eminent of all was Sir John Wentworth who moved his office as surveyor-general of the King's woods from New Hampshire to Halifax and there asserted the same authoritarian jurisdiction that had made him one of the most feared of the King's officials in the older colonies. Later his great office was joined to that of lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia and, until his death forty-five years after the Revolution, he was one of the most influential men in British North America. One can say with confidence that his early experience with the lumberers of Maine and New Hampshire impelled him later in life to deal cautiously with those of New Brunswick and Canada, and that he performed his office without loss of his reputation as a consummate man of business. His patronage was great and many of the New England Loyalists, united in memories of broken fortunes and hopes for a prosperous future, looked to Wentworth as their most likely intermediary for the favors that could be expected from the British Government.

The most martial and the most spectacular was John Coffin, a scion of the famous family of Tristram Coffin of Nantucket. A seafaring lad of Boston, he volunteered for service with the royal forces on the day of Bunker Hill. On the ascent of that fire-swept slope his conduct was so fearless that he was awarded a commission on the field and throughout the remainder of the war he was famed as one of the most redoubtable cavalry commanders on the British side. At Eutaw Springs, at the head of seventy of the King's American Dragoons, he shattered three hundred of the enemy in open fight, losing only three of his own men and killing sixty of the rebels—all with swords, for in the precipitation of the charge he had scorned to order his men to fire. Following the battle the American General Greene, though placing a price of $10,000 on his head, publicly pronounced upon his valor. When Charleston was occupied by the enemy he made an entrance to the city in order to visit the lady to whom he was betrothed and, when his rendezvous was interrupted

by a wary American patrol, he escaped capture by concealing himself beneath a hooped skirt, though he was a man of six feet, two inches. Awarded a handsome sword by Lord Cornwallis in honor of his distinguished services, he led the King's American Dragoons to New Brunswick. His good New England reverence for genealogy was symbolized by the establishment on the St. John River of Alwington Manor, so designated from a manor of the same name on the British Channel in England that had been founded by a Norman ancestor in the eleventh century and from which Tristram Coffin had come to America.

Coffin's career continued to be remarkable for a long time after he came to New Brunswick. He took the lead of the governor's party in the legislature and, though some of his political methods were as abrupt as the charge at Eutaw Springs, he ultimately succeeded in discomfiting what respectable men considered to be a factious and disloyal opposition. New Brunswick was a poor country that could not support a squirearchy but Coffin continued to the end of his days to be a supporter of "the landed interest" against the rising power of the mercantile classes. Across the water in the British House of Commons his brother, Sir Isaac Coffin, was a leader in the fight to destroy the tariff preferences on British North American timber and John Coffin believed that the newly risen timber trade, devouring the country like a plague of locusts and drawing off labor from the farms, would be the ruination of the province. The Tory faith in the settled, ordered life of villages where every man would know his place but where there would be a place for every man was to have short shrift in New Brunswick.

When he died in 1838 Coffin was the senior general in the British Army. A son, following his footsteps, became a general of the Royal Artillery and two other sons became admirals in the Royal Navy. Such devotion to the Crown was not inconsistent with love for his native land. It was his custom to declare: "I would give more for one pork-barrel made in Massachusetts than for all that have been made in New Brunswick since its settlement."

Two of the detested *mandamus* councilors of 1774 came to New Brunswick. One was Colonel John Murray who owned a great estate at Rutland and who never was sworn in because his journey to Boston was interrupted by a rebel mob who sacked his household. The second was Abijah Willard, said to be the wealthiest man in Lancaster, who on the morning of 19 April 1775 was riding to Beverly for the purpose of supervising the planting operations on his estate there. On his way he met the Minute Men who were marching to Concord and Lexington.

He kept on riding but not in the same direction, quickly joining General Gage at Boston. On another memorable morning, two months later, he was again in company with General Gage when he saw through a field glass the tall figure of his brother-in-law, Colonel William Prescott, directing defensive operations on the heights occupied by the rebels. "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "Aye, sir," was the reply, "he is an old soldier and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins." Though Abijah Willard was also an old soldier he could not bring himself to take up arms against his countrymen. He became a commissary at New York and acquired a rather loathsome reputation among the generality of the Loyalists because his name stood at the head of the notorious Fifty-Five, a list of leading partisans of the Crown who applied for the extraordinarily large grants of five thousand acres of land in Nova Scotia. Though he never saw his native Lancaster again he founded a new Lancaster in New Brunswick, becoming a member of the first council of the province for the few short years before his death in 1789.

A leading Tory of Massachusetts who might reasonably be suspected of impulsiveness was William Paine, son of Timothy Paine, the *mandamus* councilor of Worcester. As a student of medicine in England he had been presented to the King and Queen wearing the court dress prescribed for medical men, a gray, cloth coat with silver buttons, a white satin waistcoat, satin small clothes, silk hose, a fall of lace from the collar and lace in the sleeves, a sword by his side. In 1775 he wrote to his friends in Worcester, "The colonists had better lay down their arms at once for we are coming over with an overwhelming force to destroy them." A good story is told of this sprightly young man whose letters nearly always abound with such certain opinions. During the unsure course of events following Lexington when men's loyalties were being determined he entertained John Adams at dinner and, following its conclusion, he rose from his place and proposed a toast to His Majesty the King. A hush descended upon the cheerful assemblage and there was a slight murmur of surprise as Adams, with darkened brow, rose to honor the toast. The relief lasted only for a moment for Adams lost no time in proposing a toast to His Majesty the Devil. Unable to accept the certain implication with dispassion, Paine was about to become unpleasant but was restrained by his clever wife who exclaimed, "Do, my dear, permit the gentleman to do honour to his friends."

Paine served with the British forces in Rhode Island and New York, and the year 1783 found him in New Brunswick. The undisturbed pos-

session of a small island on the Bay of Fundy coast failed to satisfy him and he moved to Saint John where he earned a precarious living by practicing medicine, keeping a garden and serving as a deputy surveyor of the King's woods. In 1787, for the purpose of "gathering up a little property in New England," he applied, as a half-pay officer, to the War Office for permission to visit the United States. Since his father had never been an absentee the great estate Paine was to inherit had not been confiscated. He never returned to New Brunswick, passing out a long life in wealth and dignity in his homeland.

He may have been a recreant Tory but his short residence in New Brunswick assured that he would never be forgotten. Of the seven memorialists who, in the days when New Brunswick was an almost completely unbroken wilderness, petitioned for the establishment of an institution of learning in the new province, the antecedent of the University of New Brunswick, it was Paine's name that headed the list.

Another medical man who came to New Brunswick from Massachusetts was Adino Paddock, a descendant of one of the Pilgrim Fathers and the son of the father of the same name who cared for the famous Paddock elms on Tremont Street that adorned Boston for so long a time. As surgeon of the King's American Dragoons he served during the latter part of the war under the command of that most notable citizen of New Hampshire, Benjamin Thompson, whose fame as a soldier was to be outstripped by his prowess as a scientist and philosopher. For a great many years Paddock was the foremost medical practitioner in New Brunswick.

In the number of its Tory partisans medicine yielded to the law for a whole host of legal luminaries departed from New England to serve in distant parts of the British Empire. James Putnam of the Salem family, a cousin of Rufus and Israel Putnam, practiced law in Worcester and was widely regarded as one of the ablest lawyers in America. In 1777 he became the last attorney-general of Massachusetts under the Crown. John Adams was his student-at-law and business partner, and, while a youth, boarded in his home. Putnam became one of the first judges of New Brunswick but his health was broken after the long conflict in which he lost almost everything he possessed. Sabine, the American historian of the Loyalists, after visiting at Putnam's home in Saint John, said, "I have often stood at his grave and mused upon the strange vicissitudes of human condition, by which the Master, one of the giants of the American colonial bar, became an outlaw and exile, broken in fortune and

spirit, while his struggling and friendless pupil, elevated step by step by the same course of events, was finally known the world over as the chief magistrate of a nation."

Other notable barristers of Massachusetts who came to New Brunswick were Daniel Bliss of Concord, one of the addressers of Governor Hutchinson, and Jonathan Bliss of Springfield, one of the notorious seventeen rescinders from the resolutions of the General Court. Both held leading positions all their lives and both, like so many of their contemporaries, died virtually impoverished. Jonathan Sewell, attorney-general of Massachusetts, became judge of the admiralty court for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But the man who made a greater impression on the new institutions of the province of New Brunswick than any other was Ward Chipman of Marblehead. His father, John Chipman, was so highly respected by the members of the Massachusetts bar that when he suddenly died while pleading in court at an early age, a number of them undertook to pay for the education of his young son at Harvard College. It is on record that when Ward Chipman entered Harvard he was seventh in a class of thirty-four in order of social prominence and that when he graduated he was sixth. Perhaps his graduation alone entitles him to a degree of notice for he was the first college orator whose speech was given in the vernacular language.

From the founding of the province Chipman, an able lawyer remarkable for his plain speech and his absence of affectation as well as for his knowledge of the law, was the right-hand man of Governor Carleton especially when difficult business lay in hand. He was the writer of the first laws of the province. He drew up the charters of the city of Saint John and the college of New Brunswick. He fought the elements in the legislature who were trying to make New Brunswick a replica of any one of the disorderly colonies that had been lost. The great Loyalist principle was to avoid the errors that had produced faction and social upthrust in New England, to keep New Brunswick and the other rising colonies as unlike New England as possible. So far as this was possible in an environment similar to that of New England the governing classes of New Brunswick succeeded to a considerable degree and Chipman, among others, achieved a great reputation as a champion of Church and State. But the reason for his long success as a man of affairs lay in his ability to bargain like a good New Englander, to trim his sails according to the weather, and to subject his very businesslike type of Toryism to the public opinion of a new age. He finished a long career of public service as the champion of the mercantile classes of the province whose in-

terests opposed the dominance of a hereditary aristocracy, an established church and the control of patronage by the Colonial Office.

Histories of Maine abound with expressions both of irritation and respect for Chipman. As agent for the British Government he won the first two rounds in the long quarrel over the northeastern boundary. When he died in 1823 he was masterfully delaying the settlement of the final round, desperately searching for new expedients in a case that was becoming increasingly hopeless. His loyalism was not of the desperate variety. He kept a good connection with his brother-in-law, William Gray of Boston, and invested a substantial portion of his savings in the Far Eastern enterprises of that most successful merchant. He sent his son to school at Salem and later to Harvard College, though at the time a legal education at Harvard was considered in some quarters as a stigma upon the career of a New Brunswick barrister. This had to be remedied somewhat later by a term or two at the Inns of Court in London. In the Chipman Papers at Ottawa there is a simple but revealing letter that testifies to the quality of the Loyalist mystique. Twitted by his rich and influential relatives upon the possibilities of his becoming a citizen of the United States, the younger Ward Chipman when he was a boy of twelve declared that "never, never, never" would he abandon his heritage as a British subject.

A quite different type of Tory, absolutely without qualities of moderation, was George Leonard, a member of the affluent Taunton and Norton family who were noted for their landed wealth and their pioneering work in ironmongery in Massachusetts. He spent the war in that happy hunting ground for leading Tories, the royal commissariat, and at one time operated a squadron of small armed vessels from Newport in Rhode Island, harrassing rebel trade and communications. He was the doctrinaire type of Tory who insisted on seeing all things in principle, turning a blind eye to immediate necessities. One of his leading principles was that public office should go to the right people and he was a persistent lobbyist at the Colonial Office, insisting that the laws should be rigidly enforced, especially against the upstart Americans who were drawing off the trade of New Brunswick to their great advantage. To the end of his days Leonard continued to fight the war of the American Revolution. He held the office of superintendent of trade and fisheries, holding authority to enforce the laws of trade and navigation in all the seas of the Maritime colonies. The task was manifestly impossible but Leonard enjoyed it. His Majesty's right was occasionally vindicated by the seizure of a fishing vessel engaged in the illegal transit of tea and other produce

of the East Indies or by the commandeering of American goods smuggled into New Brunswick by subjects of the Crown who could not perceive that such practices were false to their Tory faith.

The facts of life in colonial New Brunswick were well illustrated by the conflict between Leonard and William Wanton, collector of customs at Saint John, who was a son of Joseph Wanton, a former governor of Rhode Island. Wanton assumed his important post in 1785, greatly surprised that the Imperial Government intended to enforce the laws of trade and navigation against the United States and it is reasonably certain that he never made any attempt to enforce the laws at all. "Trading on the lines" was a profitable occupation for the subjects of both nations and Wanton made a curious arrangement with the American collector at Eastport by which the narrow channel between Moose Island and Campobello was to be regarded as neutral water. The consequence was the development of a most voluminous international trade and this slender stream, this *Filum Aquae*, as David Owen, the squire of Campobello, called it, became renowned as the safest anchorage in the North Atlantic.

Leonard's seizure of the American sloop *Falmouth* in 1805 brought into the open the arrangement Wanton had made with his American counterpart. The trial before the court of admiralty revealed that the owner of the cargo of the *Falmouth* was the son of the surveyor and searcher of His Majesty's customs and that the collector at Saint John had favored a contraband trade with the Yankees. Leonard rigorously pressed his triumph but by the time that the commissioners of customs at London brought about an investigation of the transactions at Campobello Wanton was, as they said, incredibly rich, incredibly fat and over eighty. He finished his days in peace. Yet, amid the complexities of King's officials who used their posts to enrich themselves, of men who accepted or discarded British citizenship at the convenience of the hour, of British who acknowledged American brothers with whom they engaged in trade, of an international seagoing community of men on the Bay of Fundy to whom all restrictions on trade were alien and oppressive, Leonard, with a sense of divine mission, persisted in his course without flagging.

Of all the New Brunswick Tories he possessed the greatest pride. His estate was at Sussex Vale where as His Majesty's Councilor, head of the bench of parish magistrates, colonel of militia and church warden, he strove to inculcate in a small population the Tory faith in a gentlemanly caste of landed proprietors whose sense of public duty would be equiva-

lent to that of the parish magistrates of England. Adjacent was the parish of Norton, so designated from his ancestral home in Massachusetts. "The people of Norton," he wrote to his old friend, William Knox, former under-secretary of state to Lord George Germaine at the American Office, "are peasants like those in any other part of America." His family possessed a reputation for elegance and frequently boasted of their great connections in England. But New Brunswick could not foster such great pretensions for more than a generation. When Leonard died in 1826 and the salary payments from London came to an end, the Colonial Office witnessed the undignified spectacle of a son and a son-in-law pleading their rival claims for the continuation of the office by virtue of Leonard's past services. Today at Sussex Vale not only the patrician attitudes he displayed but the very name of Leonard are known only to antiquarians.

There were other New England Loyalists who came to New Brunswick but no roster could be considered at all comprehensive without reference to the one who, by reason of unique qualities, became best known of all. This was Edward Winslow of Plymouth. He was the great-great-grandson of the founder of Plymouth Colony and had been the first man in Plymouth County to take a bold stand in defiance of the revolutionary committees. On the dark morning following the battle of Lexington he had guided Lord Percy's shattered battalion back to Boston through the strange and hostile countryside. He had rescued Peter Oliver, the Chief-justice of Massachusetts, from a hostile patriot mob outside the Province House. At the evacuation of Boston he had carried off not only the royal coat-of-arms from the walls of the council chamber but the public archives of Massachusetts as well and a few years later, when peace returned and tempers cooled, he returned them to the custody of Governor Bowdoin. Like so many others he served out the war in New York where he was muster-master general of the Provincial Army, that broken, disappointed host whose apologists boasted that it was more numerous than the forces who served under Washington, whose cause was stultified and betrayed, at least in the minds of a great many of them, by the ineptitude of the King's ministers.

Yet it was Winslow's literary qualities that ensure him a permanent place in Canadian history. A great many years ago the Reverend W. O. Raymond of Saint John learned of the existence of a vast collection of papers in Chatham in New Brunswick and in 1901 there appeared in print a copious representation of the private correspondence of this likable and energetic man. No collection of correspondence in Canadian his-

toriography is more readable. None can match it for eloquence and wit, for plain, blunt words that catch the spirit of America's lost and almost forgotten Tories. Through the *Winslow Papers* there follow the fortunes of the Loyalists in their disillusioned days at New York, in the excitements and hazards of entrance to a new country, in the disappointments of old age as the great venture in New Brunswick failed to produce the society that was perfect and gentlemanlike. Edward Winslow's ambitions and failures, his financial distress in later life, his refusal to submit to the frequent manifestations of a lesser perfection that he saw all around him in New Brunswick may be taken as a mirror for the times and travails of the Loyalists. Burdened with debt and by a multitude of offices that yielded him little income, he died in 1815. Among his friends his wit and good cheer were proverbial. His adversity never dimmed his spirit. "I shall go up to Heaven and shake hands with Lazarus for damme if there is any man on this earth poor enough to keep me company," he once declared.

New Brunswick was a land of promise only for the young and the strong who could labor with their hands. When the Loyalists came the country was almost completely untouched by settlement, the dark forests brooding over slender tracts of interval land on the banks of the rivers. Gentlemen of education and some substance who were well advanced in the course of life were compelled to plant and harvest their own crops for, in a new country where free grants of land were available to all who wanted them, tenantry was an institution that could not take root. Every man had all the land he needed but land was worth only the labor expended upon it. Had the Loyalist immigration not been financed by the British Government, had the King's bounty not been freely expended in compensations, pensions, half-pay, it is extremely dubious whether or not a permanent settlement on a large scale could have taken place on the banks of the St. John in 1783 and the years following. The hopes of New Brunswick and of all the remaining colonies in North America lay in the continued flow of public money from Britain. In 1793, when the war of the French Revolution broke out, these expectations were destroyed. For twenty-two years the British Government could afford no money and very little attention to the development of the remaining empire in North America.

The commercial prospects of the exiled Tories were blighted for a dozen years by that astute American negotiator, John Jay, who, taking advantage of Britain's urgencies, secured the entrance of American shipping to the British West Indies. Wartime insurance rates against British

shipping rose so steeply that Saint John's fleet of sixty square-rigged vessels disappeared from the seas. Commerce languished and no fresh flood of immigrants arrived to reinforce the slight impact made by the Loyalists on the New Brunswick wilderness. That invariable barometer of impending disaster, a fall in the value of real estate, caused consternation among the few men of capital who had staked everything they possessed in the creation of landed estates in the new country. Twenty years after the establishment of the province no gain in population had been recorded. Morals declined and, amid the swelling waves of agrarian and commercial discontent, New Brunswick produced its Samuel Adamses and John Hancocks in miniature, its tinkers and shoemakers and small storekeepers who cried out for their share of the loaves and fishes of public patronage. There was no happy unanimity in dutiful obedience to the established authorities in Church and State. The politics of New Brunswick rang with contempt and envy for the privileges of the placemen, painfully reminiscent of the faction and strife that had characterized the very worst of the former thirteen colonies, Massachusetts.

Only the more long lived of the Tories saw the day when a new prosperity arrived. When it finally did come it was owing to a number of adventitious factors that had never been foreseen. One of these was President Madison's magnificent embargo. For twenty years the small traders and fishermen of New Brunswick had been bondsmen to the Americans. But after 1808 the process was reversed as the commercial men of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia wholeheartedly entered upon the business of persuading the Americans to break their own laws. A thriving exchange of American provisions and British manufactured goods at steep discounts developed at the free ports of Saint John and St. Andrew's. Relaxations in the laws of trade that enabled colonial vessels to enter the Mediterranean and sail directly homeward were made by the British Government. Most important of all was the interruption of the Baltic trade in timber, brought about by the compliance of the Czar of Russia to the strictures of the Napoleonic blockade. This caused the British Government to offer its expanding domestic market for timber to the North American colonies on an exclusive basis. The prosperity that resulted was of the kind never contemplated by the Tories who had dreamed of rural delights and social stratifications. The economy of New Brunswick became one of impetuous skyrocketings and disastrous tailspins, of fortunes suddenly made and just as suddenly lost, of reckless and lawless exploitation of the province's forest resources. Timber became the great staple and the people of New Brunswick, instead of becoming

a happy and bucolic peasantry revering their squires, became dedicated to the desultory habits and dubious morals of nomads and adventurers.

The War of 1812 gave fresh impetus to the favorable elements that were at work. Sheepish New England skippers made their way through the fogs of the Bay of Fundy, hove to beneath the guns of British men-of-war and offered their vessels as prizes. They were directed to sail to the nearest port, usually Saint John or St. Andrew's where they were magnanimously reimbursed for their cargoes, either in case or in goods, and exhorted to come again on other equally inglorious but highly profitable voyages. So far as the seas about New England were concerned, the avowed British policy was to trade with the enemy. Shipwrights and carpenters of New England in order to find labor came to Saint John where their industry revitalized the city. There were humiliations too. The work of New England privateers roused the Tory animus to try reprisals. In October of 1812 there was great elation in Saint John when word arrived of the capture of the large ship *Reward* out of Boston along with half a dozen lesser prizes. But the cheers subsided to a murmur of dismay when it became known that the master of the *Reward* bore letters of safe conduct from the British consul in Boston and that her cargo of flour and dry provisions was destined for the British armies in Spain and Portugal. Again there was no reward for valor at the conclusion of the war when the British Government failed to take advantage of its favorable military position and to insist that the boundaries of New Brunswick should be pushed to the Penobscot so that a secure communication with Canada could be established.

Out of the consequences of the embargo and the War of 1812 New Brunswick and Nova Scotia found their way to a destiny of their own. This destiny was mercantile and oceanic. By the middle of the century their shipping rivaled that of New England. By the third quarter of the century it was commonly asserted that the two Bluenose provinces possessed the third or fourth largest volume of merchant shipping in the world. During the American Civil War the shipping interests of Saint John, finding the business of running the blockade highly profitable, were hoping for a southern victory and the subsequent capture of all the coastal trade of the seceded states. Yet it is scarcely possible to credit very much of this success to the Tories of the American Revolution or to their descendants. Numerically they had been overpowered by the English, Scots and Irish who had come to New Brunswick following the Napoleonic Wars. Even as early as 1825 the lieutenant-governor of the

province told the Colonial Office that the Loyalists were socially on the way down, that something should be done for the representatives of the older families who had sacrificed so much for the province in its first days. Even by 1825 the affectations of a gentleman could be taken as the mark of a poor politician. The established Church of England was being dragged from its pedestal. Landed estates were being sold by the sheriff for debts contracted in the timber trade. The politics of the pork barrel, ominously similar in philosophy to that of the American Democrats, were replacing the older ideas of the privileges of the educated and of *noblesse oblige*.

History has dealt uncharitably with the Loyalist exiles from the victorious states of the American Union. It would be unkind, to the authors as well as to the subjects, to recapitulate upon the treatment they have received from the earlier, patriot historians of the United States. But even from the quarters where it might be expected that their virtues should be immortalized a confused and enigmatic picture emerges. Historians share the frailties of human kind, and it is both plausible and popular to magnify success and to punish failure. The punishment of King George III inexorably continues. The so-called liberal historians of both Canada and Great Britain have, in the tradition established by Charles James Fox, continued to admire and applaud the success of the great Republic. Revolution has been their breath of life and resistance to change their cause for condemnation.

That great British historian, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, whose reverence for his Whig ancestors largely inspired him to write his *History of the American Revolution*, had no more to say that was good for the American Tories than for the ministers who served George III. Echoing the prejudices of the English Fens, from which so many of the pioneers of Massachusetts had come, of the strenuous anti-episcopacy of Protestant dissent, of the University of Cambridge, the mother of so many enlightened young Whigs, he loses no opportunity to praise the patriots and to scorn those who opposed them. Even when, as in the back parts of the Carolinas, the war was one for Whig beef or for Tory cattle, it was for him plainly perceptible that the Whigs were a superior breed of men. Sublimely ignoring the pleas of Washington and all kinds of other good evidence that could be used to show that on the rebel side there were deserters, thieves and scavengers, he takes great delight in showing that the Tories were poltroons in battle as well as rogues in politics. He has only one good word to say for the men who served the Crown—and

even here there is an ambiguity of intention—that if they had remained behind in their homeland the march of temperance legislation in the New England states would have been seriously arrested.

It has been the Trevelyan thesis that has been blown to the four winds by journalists, popularizers and oversimplifiers. Even the more sober ranks of Canadian historical scholarship have shown a disposition to make Canadian history as much as possible like American, to interpret the behavior of the Tories of the eighteenth century from the perspective and hindsight of nineteenth-century thought. Even in Canada the elemental notion that prominently emerges is that they were ridiculous in their pride, quaint because they subordinated their interests to their principles, stupid because they chose the losing side. New Brunswick, where a slender Loyalist core of the population is still sensitive to the meaningfulness of the past, has produced native historians who are censorious of Loyalist morals, critical of Loyalist arrogance and superfluous in their assertions that the Loyalist idea of managing a popular legislature was not that of the enlightened times in which they themselves lived.

Yet nobody of any consequence has ventured to dispute the importance of the task performed by the leaders of the Tory refugees from New England and the other states of the American Union. One of the most eminent of contemporary Canadian historians has entitled his chapter on the period following the American Revolution as "The Survival of British North America." On the face of things it is perhaps one of the minor miracles of history that a British nation ever developed to the north of the emancipated and triumphant lost thirteen colonies. In 1783 to give assurance to the promise there were little more than seventy thousand French Canadians, admittedly more fearful of Boston than of Westminster, yet still only nominally loyal to Britain, and the Tories. Of these there were in the lower provinces by the sea about thirty thousand, in Canada rather less than ten thousand. This thin line of Loyalist colonization, extending from the Atlantic to Lake Huron, held firm for forty years against American assertions of manifest destiny, against all the centrifugal and disruptive forces that a hostile geography and adverse commercial pressures could muster. Somehow or other these authoritarian and determined Tories created the conscience of a common citizenship, that, two generations later, was to be the most fundamental factor in the making of Canadian confederation. An historian of persuasion as well as of learning and understanding might very well adopt as his theme that not one commonwealth but two arose out of the tumults surrounding Boston Common in the years before 1776, that the Tories

who evacuated Boston took with them some of the necessary ingredients of Canadian nationality.

They brought more than mere loyalty to their new homes. As some writers have implied they were not simple and uncritical cyphers for the royal perogative. Many of them had, until the actual outbreak of hostilities, sympathized with the protests that had been made against British imperial policies in a constitutional way. Just as sincerely as the patriots they were upholders of "the rights of Englishmen." They brought to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the ideas of government to which New Englanders had so frequently given expression, those of the right of a popular assembly to control taxation, the equality of all before the law and freedom of speech and of assembly. They were not very good republicans but they loved liberty. In the story of how Nova Scotia and New Brunswick advanced to self-government within the British Empire no two names are more notable than those of Joseph Howe and Lemuel Allen Wilmot. Both were sons of Tories of the American Revolution. Howe was the son of John Howe, publisher of the *Massachusetts Gazette* who fled to Halifax in 1776. Late in life the son, the most eloquent and reasoned of all British North Americans who sought political reform, made a speech in Boston in which he described how his father, though he had lost everything he possessed in the Revolution, never lost affection for the home of his youth or the opportunity to do a kindness to a Boston man. During the War of 1812 John Howe, King's printer at Halifax, redeemed Boston sailors from His Majesty's prison at Melville Island and, when he was an old gentleman, frequently returned to Boston in order to improve his health and to walk on his beloved Common.

The unrepentant Tory historian, seeking for evidence to vindicate the men who were loyal to the Crown, can find much in the times and the lives of the Tories, to sustain the allegations they themselves so frequently and rather arrogantly made, that they constituted the greater part of the wealth, the talent and the educated classes of the thirteen colonies. Especially with reference to New England, where there were fewer and more conspicuous Tories, this is so. It may be difficult to find a test for an aristocracy, but a rough and ready one is available. Historians of Harvard and Yale have not yet competed for the dubious honor of taking a census of their living graduates of the generation of the Revolution in order to discover how many of them were in the ranks of the patriots and how many were not. Certainly British North America and the colonies in the West Indies must have acquired a large proportion of them. One authority states that nearly one hundred graduates of Harvard evacuated

Boston with General Gage in 1776. For the Tory it is more than mildly satisfying to discover that, when Harvard was employed as a barracks during the siege of Boston, young Benjamin Thompson was instrumental in saving the books and the scientific apparatus in the library from destruction at the hands of a revolutionary mob who believed that the college was a hotbed of Toryism. During the excitements of Shays' Rebellion and the other uncertainties that followed in the wake of the Revolution New England may have missed the firm hands of men who had been trained to govern. But the Tory historian must ruefully record that the Tories were entirely unaware of New England's capacity to reproduce aristocracies whose spendor would exceed their own.

It is unreasonable to suppose that even Massachusetts, where political rigors were sharper than in any of the other colonies, lost all its Tories. Tradition records that at least two rather remarkable ones, definitely not of the hole-in-corner variety, lived on in Boston, openly proclaiming their faith for fifty years after the Revolution. These were the Byles sisters who resided at their family home on the corner of Tremont and Nassau, now Common, Streets. Their brother had become the clever and erudite rector of Saint John. Their father had been the only clergyman of the Congregational Church of New England who adhered to the royal cause. Through their long lives they missed no opportunity to declare that it was better to live under a king than under a republic and to remind their hearers that as young women they had walked arm-in-arm on Boston Common with Prince William, General Howe, Lord Percy and other British dignitaries. When in 1830 the same Prince William became King of England they wrote to him to say that the family of Doctor Byles of Boston always had been and would continue to be loyal to their rightful sovereign.

Even in the twentieth century Tory murmurs have arisen. A publisher of Milk Street in Boston, James H. Stark, came to the conviction that the reputation of the Tories had been grossly abused, that important historical truths had been concealed from his fellow-citizens, that the legend of British tyranny and oppression had no sound basis in fact. His *History of the Loyalists of Massachusetts*, published in 1910, is a manful attempt to remedy injustice. There is nothing simple in human affairs, and the American Revolution, like other great conflicts, cannot be reduced to a contest between right and wrong. The addressers of Governor Hutchinson and of General Gage, the *mandamus* councilors, the victims of the Banishment Act, were, like other citizens of New England, capable of good intentions and they loved their country. Yet in the United States

they have been allowed little of the chivalry and understanding that have been accorded to another group of vanquished Americans in another great civil war, the leaders of the Southern Confederacy. So long as the great debate on the American Revolution continues the American Tories cannot be completely ignored. Their points of view, their strengths and weaknesses, require interpretation by American historians that will reflect the virtues of the great American democracy, those of generosity and tolerance.

Annual Meeting
November, 1959

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday evening, 19 November 1959. At the dinner which preceded the meeting, the Reverend RICHARD D. PIERCE said grace. Messrs. Marcus Cunliffe and Clarence Ver Steeg were the guests of the Society.

The President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, called the meeting to order at half after eight o'clock. Mr. ROBERT EARLE MOODY read the Mayflower Compact.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Report of the Council

IN the past year, in addition to the Annual Meeting, at which Professor Bernard Bailyn spoke, the Society has held the usual three Stated Meetings in this house. At two of them the papers were by young local scholars: Wendell D. Garrett who, on 18 December 1958, gave an account of Apthorp House, and Leonard C. Faber who, at the meeting on 26 February 1959, spoke on the Quincy family. Both speakers have subsequently been elected to Resident Membership in the Society. It is perhaps worth repeating that Henry H. Edes, the founder of this Society, although an extremely conservative man in most respects, was adventuresome and imaginative in regard to the choice of members. During the first thirty years of the Society's life, he arranged dinners of a portentous nature, of which tonight's entertainment, with a single excellent speaker, rather than five in succession, is a mercifully abridged reflection. He pretty much dictated elections to membership, but in spite of a taste for patriarchs, prophets and elder statesmen, he also had a keen eye for new talent. This is a tradition that the Council has maintained, in the thirty-seven years since Mr. Edes's death, to the benefit of the Society.

Since the visit in July 1958 of a delegation of the Government of Nova Scotia to Boston in connection with the celebration of the bicentenary of

representative government in Nova Scotia, there has been a marked increase in historical visiting across the almost invisible frontier between New England and the Maritime Provinces. One agreeable example of this was the paper read at our 23 April 1959 meeting by W. Stewart MacNutt, Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick, entitled "New England's Tory Neighbors."

Every now and then the Society has gone traveling, but until 1959 always within the limits of New England. Many members will recall pleasant days spent at Hadley with Jim Huntington, at Plymouth with Ellis Brewster, at Middleborough with our greatly missed friend Peter Oliver, and at Portsmouth with Bill Wendell. This year, through the amiability of four members resident in Charlottesville—Charles C. Abbott, Francis L. Berkeley, John D. Forbes and William Rotch—the Society was invited to come to Virginia to share in the observance of Thomas Jefferson's birthday. Thus a small group traveled to Charlottesville for a two-day visit on 12 and 13 April that included a cocktail party at Dean Abbott's Pavilion on the Lawn, a dinner given by President Darden, the Founder's Day address at the University of Virginia, a luncheon given by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, and a visit to Monticello.

In 1954 when Mrs. Llewellyn Howland gave this house to the Society, she promised to give $20,000 a year for five years to provide an endowment that would make it possible for the Society to occupy it without drawing upon funds that would otherwise be used for publications. Mrs. Howland's fifth and final gift has been gratefully received during 1959, so that the Treasurer now has the full endowment fund of $100,000 invested. It was fortunately possible to attend to the initial restoration out of accumulated income, and the furnishing has been almost entirely due to wonderfully generous friends. Last year I reported the gift of many handsome pieces from Mrs. William C. Endicott's house at 163 Marlborough Street. This year I must add other equally welcome additions from Mrs. Endicott's country house, Glen Magna Farms in Danvers, that are the gift of G. Peabody Gardner. Other welcome gifts have come from Mrs. Andrew Chalmers Wilson of Newport, Messrs. W. G. and S. C. Nickerson and from our Honorary Member, Waldo G. Leland. Henry M. Channing places us monthly in his debt by superb additions to the William Ellery Channing Room on the third floor, which now boasts a rug, curtains, a chandelier and other amenities that set a standard that we would like to be able to afford on some of the lower floors.

The house has been used as in past years by the Harvard History Department and other historical organizations. It has been open to visitors on

the spring Beacon Hill tour of the Women's City Club and on the fall tour of the League of Women Voters. In addition the Executive Committee of the Beacon Hill Association has held its meetings here.

The Society has continued as copublisher of the *New England Quarterly*. We had hoped that Volume 38 of our *Publications* would be distributed before this meeting. It is, alas, because of the popularity of the Anthoensen Press for learned printing, still in the bindery, while other volumes are in press in various stages of completion.

The following members have been elected during the past year:

Resident:

GILBERT RUSSELL PAYSON
ALDEN PORTER JOHNSON
WENDELL DOUGLAS GARRETT
LEONARD CARL FABER

Non-Resident:

NICHOLAS BIDDLE WAINWRIGHT

Honorary:

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY
RUDOLPH RUZICKA

During the year the Society has lost by death five Resident Members of long standing, one Non-Resident and two Corresponding Members.

EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN, Resident, 1924, died 9 May 1959. A twentieth-century example of the Boston tradition of history written by the private scholar, his works extended from *The Mind of Latin Christendom* to seventeenth-century France.

ARTHUR ORLO NORTON, Resident, 1929, died 25 August 1959. Professor of the History and Principles of Education at Wellesley College for a quarter of a century, his interests ranged from mediaeval universities to Harvard textbooks of the seventeenth century.

LUDLOW GRISCOM, Resident, 1933, died 28 May 1959. An eminent ornithologist, who served for thirty years at the Museum of Comparative Zoology, whose field researches extended from central America to Arctic Newfoundland.

A. WARREN STEARNS, Resident, 1935, died 24 September 1959. A psychiatrist and criminologist, long Dean of the Tufts College Medical School, who loved every acre of colonial Billerica.

JEROME DAVIS GREENE, Resident, 1937, died 28 March 1959. A much-loved man of many talents, secretary to President Eliot, banker,

teacher at the University of Wales, chief architect of the Harvard Tercentenary, a lifelong friend of Japan, where he was born.

Peter Oliver, Resident, 1940; Corresponding, 1940; Non-Resident, 1950, died 17 February 1959. A descendant of Loyalist Olivers, who devoted his life to learning and human kindness; bibliographer of Izaak Walton, historian of the year 1800, and a lover of Horace.

William Hutchinson Pynchon Oliver, Corresponding, 1953, died 27 August 1959. A Harvard graduate, who practiced law in New York, but at his home in Morristown, New Jersey, assembled portraits and memorabilia of his Loyalist ancestors; the father of Peter Oliver.

Gilbert Stuart McClintock, Corresponding, 1955, died 18 June 1959. A wise and gentle friend of scholars; a lawyer in Wilkes-Barre who stood as the conspicuous champion of history and the arts in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, the founder of Wilkes College, to which he bequeathed, among other things, his remarkable collection of John Wilkes.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 30 September 1959, the end of the fiscal year established by the revision of Article XIV of the By-laws, adopted at the Annual Meeting on 21 November 1958. This report therefore covers a period of less than twelve months.

Statement of Assets and Funds, 30 September 1959

ASSETS

Cash:		
Principal	$16,767.11	
Income	−1,667.74	$15,099.37
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $267,444.00)	$284,391.57	
Stocks (Market Value $345,712.00)	90,083.14	
Savings Bank Deposit	3,839.13	
Savings and Loan Association Deposits	40,000.00	
Accrued Interest Receivable	1,340.55	419,654.39
Total Assets		$434,753.76

FUNDS

Funds	$435,080.95
Income Deficit	*–327.19*
TOTAL FUNDS	$434,753.76

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, 14 November 1958			*–$687.48*
RECEIPTS:			
Dividends		$8,732.27	
Interest		7,945.92	
Annual Assessments		930.00	
Sale of Publications		87.00	17,695.19
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME			$17,007.71
DISBURSEMENTS:			
Publications:			
New England Quarterly	$3,500.00		
Volumes 39–41	73.25		
Volume 42	1,344.30	4,917.55	
Expenses of 87 Mount Vernon Street Property:			
Renovations, maintenance and furnishings	5,936.00		
Heat and light	1,598.31		
Insurance	369.66		
Telephone and telegraph	178.16		
Water	42.00	8,124.13	
Editor's Salary		1,500.00	
Secretarial Expense		105.00	
Annual Dinner		658.45	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings		322.48	
Auditing and Accounting Services		400.00	
Legal Services		330.00	
Miscellaneous Supplies and Expenses		96.60	
Gifts		100.00	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Principal		1,868.10	
Interest on Albert Matthews Fund added to Principal		253.14	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME			$18,675.45
INCOME CASH OVERDRAFT, 30 SEPTEMBER 1959			*–$1,667.74*

For himself and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER, the Auditing Committee, Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD announced that the Treasurer's report, so far as they had had opportunity to examine it, was in good order, and that they had been happy to accept the assurance of the Society's paid auditors, Messrs. Arthur Young and Company, that the securities owned by the Society were accounted for by inspection and that the statements of receipts and disbursements were presented fairly "on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year." Although Mr. OSGOOD advised against it, the Recording Secretary included in the minutes the final words of his report, aware that in doing so he may be charged with treating the Society's business with the same levity and responsibility with which the Auditing Committee evidently discharges its duties.

> Your Audit Committee of Osgood and Pier
> Have met and examined the books for the year.
>
> Actually all that we've seen is the audit
> And now we're expected to arise and applaud it,
>
> But applaud it we can't for the truth we must tell you
> The Bonds which we own show a decrease in value.
>
> But all is not lost for inflation is here
> And our most common stocks have a gain for the year,
>
> And this is in spite of a certain dilute
> In the value of Boston's own United Fruit;
>
> And we view with alarm that our income is tending
> To follow a pattern of deficit spending,
>
> But since Treasurer Richmond's a man we revere,
> The audit's accepted by Osgood and Pier.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE
Vice-Presidents SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS
Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY
Corresponding Secretary DAVID BRITTON LITTLE
Treasurer CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND
Member of the Council for Three Years STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Mr. LOUIS BOOKER WRIGHT, a Corresponding Member, addressed the Society on "William Byrd."

December Meeting, 1959

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 17 December 1959, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

Messrs. JOHN PETERSON ELDER, of Boston, FRANK BURT FREIDEL, of Cambridge, DEAN ABNER FALES, Jr., of Salem, CHARLES CHRISTOPHER LAING, of Boston, CHARLES EDWARD STEARNS, of Medford, and CORNELIUS CLARKSON VERMEULE, III, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members, and Mr. ANDREW OLIVER, of New York City, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. MALCOLM FREIBERG read a paper entitled: "How to Become a Colonial Governor: Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts."[1]

[1] Printed in *The Review of Politics*, XXI (1959), 646–656.

February Meeting, 1960

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 18 February 1960, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in December were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. JOHN PETERSEN ELDER, FRANK BURT FREIDEL, DEAN ABNER FALES, CHARLES CHRISTOPHER LAING, CHARLES EDWARD STEARNS, and CORNELIUS CLARKSON VERMEULE, III, accepting election to Resident Membership, and of one from Mr. ANDREW OLIVER accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY read a paper entitled: "The Robert Gould Shaw Monument."[1]

[1] Published in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXXV (1963), 27-38.

April Meeting, 1960

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 April 1960, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in February were read and approved.

Messrs. ROBERT CHURCHILL VOSE, Jr., and RICHARD HARDING RANDALL, Jr., were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ELLIOTT PERKINS and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL and DAVID BRITTON LITTLE.

Mr. DEAN A. FALES, Jr., read a paper entitled:

Joseph Barrell's Pleasant Hill

I.

"IN the improvement of the land, I hope to find employment as long as I live," wrote Joseph Barrell in 1794.[1] The improvements of his land, its buildings and its people are the subject of this paper, the main purpose of which is to show the relationship between a successful Massachusetts merchant of the late eighteenth century and the craftsmen and artisans about him that made his house in Charlestown, "Pleasant Hill," the most outstanding private residence built in America during the last decade of the century. Though the house no longer stands and the ground itself has been changed, it is still possible to trace the growth of this amazing building through old records, drawings, and photographs. All these serve as indications of the greatness not only of Pleasant Hill, but of Joseph Barrell himself.

[1] Letter from Barrell to Major John Webb, 3 February 1794, Letter Book, 105. Copies of this and many other letters referred to in this article are in a letter book (hereafter cited as L.B.) by Joseph Barrell, covering the years 1792 to 1797, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Barrell was born in Boston in 1739, the sixth of eleven sons of John Barrell, Jr., a merchant and shipbuilder. As did most of his brothers, Joseph became a merchant as well as participating on occasion in public life. In 1764 he married Ann Pierce. In the next year their pastel portraits were done by John Singleton Copley, that of Barrell being now at the Worcester Art Museum.

In 1769, among those who appeared in the list of three hundred and fifty-five Sons of Liberty who dined at the Liberty Tree on 14 August, were Samuel and John Adams, Joseph Barrell, James Otis, Jr., and Paul Revere. The same year, on 8 May, in a long advertisement of household wares and food in the Boston *Gazette*, Barrell advertised brown sugars, "Double and Treble refined," as well as loaf sugar and coffee. On 11 July 1763, he had advertised "Bristol glass, Boxes of Glass Ware, and Hogsheads of Earthenware, neatly sorted, Wine and Beer Glasses and Decanters curiously engraved with the Mason's Arms."

In 1771, his first wife having died, he married Hannah Fitch, whose pastel by Copley attests to her grace. This portrait is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and was done probably the year they were married. She, like his first wife, unfortunately died still young, during the Revolution.

In the unsettled 1770's Barrell moved to Waltham, using the harbor of Newburyport for his mercantile operations. On 12 April 1776, he wrote about Boston to his brother William, a Philadelphia merchant,

> The shops are not yet open in that town, & though the Redcoat Rascals have deserted, yet a melancholy appearance is alone to be seen in that once happy place. Mr. Green in whose hands I left my affairs, is amongst the fugitives, that carried with him, all my carpets, looking glasses, curtains, beds & bedding & almost every necessary in a household way, that I am not in a capacity to go into Housekeeping, & know not when I shall return to Boston.[2]

He did return, however, and continued to perform service for his native Boston. In 1776 he was chairman of a committee to examine the town treasury, a member of a committee to prepare instructions for the Massachusetts representatives in the General Assembly, and a juror on the Maritime Court. In 1778 he was chosen as a Representative to the Massachusetts Assembly, was on the school committee, and ran for State senator. In 1784, he was treasurer of a committee which was to incorporate Boston into a city, and a few years later ran unsuccessfully for Governor of Massachusetts.

[2] Letter at Massachusetts Historical Society.

These few examples will serve to show his interest in public affairs. Many of his letters are fascinating commentaries of events of the time. He returned to Boston after the Revolution, living in a large house on Summer Street. His business boomed, and with relatives in Portsmouth, New York, Philadelphia, London, and France, the Barrell brothers became practically a cartel!

In 1781 Barrell took into his counting house for five years a young family friend, Charles Bulfinch, a graduate of Boston Latin School. This was the start of a long friendship culminating finally in Bulfinch designing "Pleasant Hill" after his European tour in the eighties.

While Bulfinch was working for Barrell, journals of Captain Cook's voyages to the northwest reached Boston. Tempted by the fur of the sea otter, Barrell was instrumental in fitting out a voyage to this area. The ship *Columbia* and the sloop *Washington*, owned by Barrell, Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Derby, Crowell Hatch, and John Pintard, left Boston on 30 September 1787, bound to the northwest coast, China, and then Boston. The venture was successful.[3] Furs were taken on board in the northwest, where a large river was named for the first vessel, the furs were then taken to China (a stop at the Hawaiian Islands for "refreshment and provisions" made en route), and in China they were traded for a cargo of tea to come back to Boston. Barrell ordered Captain Kendrick to get "Bohea and Hyson tea; blue and white china plates and dishes and tea and coffee cups and saucers, or any other article which you think will answer better in this country."[4] Boston papers hailed the voyage of the first two American ships that went completely around the world as a great triumph. Medals of the expedition were made of silver and copper.[5] A silver medal was sent by Barrell to Jefferson. On 2 May 1789, the goldsmith Paul Revere recorded in his ledger the making of six silver medals and repairing the edges of ten copper medals, for Joseph Barrell.[6] A silver medal at the Massachusetts Historical Society is one that Barrell gave to the Society in 1791.

In 1792 the owners of the ships received thanks from the Corporation

[3] See *The Memorial History of Boston*, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston, 1883), IV. 208; and *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Second Series, VII (May, 1892), 416–421.

[4] Copy, in the handwriting of John Hoskins, of letter from Barrell to Captain Gray of the *Columbia* at Macao, Mass. Hist. Soc.

[5] The medals were struck at the time of the departure of the vessels, since Dr. William Bentley of Salem describes them in his diary on 30 September 1787. See William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, 1905–1914), I. 76. See also *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I (December, 1791), 25, 26.

[6] Revere papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.

of Harvard College for a present to the museum of "a number of rare curiosities, procured by those vessells from Nootka Sound, and the Sandwich Islands in their late voyage, being the first ever made by Americans to the North West Coast."

Until 1793, Barrell lived on Summer Street, which at that time was the most beautiful street in Boston. When Reverend William Bentley visited there in 1791, he had this to say:

Was politely received at dinner by Mr. Barrell, & Family, who shewed me his large and elegant arrangements for amusement, & philosophic experiments. His birds played in a globe surrounded with a globe of water in which the fish play. . . . He has a variety of paintings, engravings, & representations in clay from China. He was an adventurer in the first voyage to the back parts of America, & has several great curiosities. His apparatus for experimental Philosophy is good, especially for electricity. He has a good library. The house is elegant in all its furniture. His Garden is beyond any example I have seen. A young grove is growing in the back ground, in the middle of which is a pond, decorated with four ships at anchor, & a marble figure in the centre. The Chinese manner is mixed with the European in the Summer house which fronts the House, below the Flower Garden. Below is the Hot House. In the apartment above are his flowers admitted more freely to the air, & above a Summer House with every convenience. The squares are decorated with Marble figures as large as life. No expense is spared to render the whole amusing, instructive & friendly.[7]

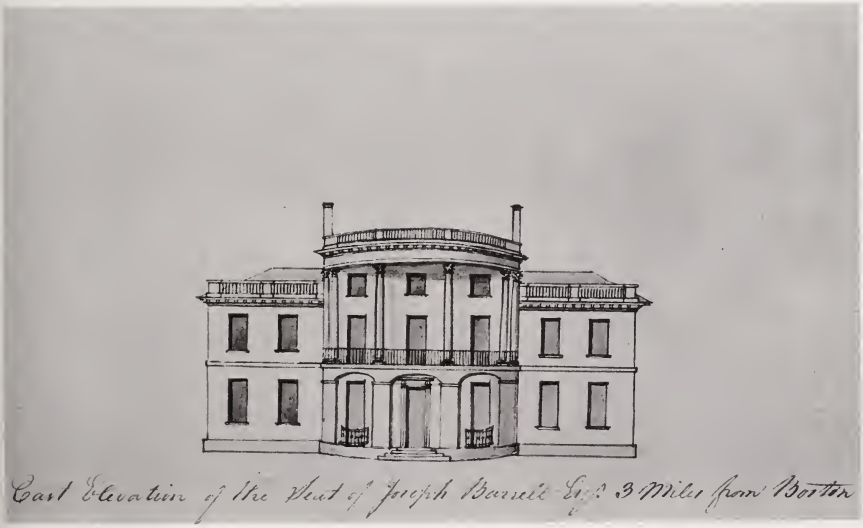
In the early 1790's Barrell acquired over two hundred acres overlooking the Charles River at Cobble Hill in Charlestown. It was on this hill that General Knox had built extensive fortifications during the Revolution. This hill, now part of Somerville, was between Charlestown and Boston on the mainland.[8] The house was to be Bulfinch's first private dwelling. Construction started early in 1792; and on 19 September 1792 a traveler, in his *Extracts of a Gentleman Visiting Boston*, reported this:

On our return struck off from the road (to Cobble Hill), and took a view of the beautiful and commodious edifice which Mr. Joseph Barrell of this town is erecting for his country residence upon an eminence near the Charles River. As it will be the largest, too I think it will be infinitely the most elegant dwelling house ever yet built in New England. It commands the most beautiful views imaginable.

[7] Bentley, Diary, I. 264. In 1793, Barrell ordered "Also one of the largest globes you can get with partitions for fish, birds, and mice," from John Horshand & Co. (L.B., 61). He mentioned the globe sent before was handsome, but had a crack. A globe of this sort can be seen at the Salem Towne House at Old Sturbridge Village.

[8] See Samuel Adams Drake, *Historic Mansions and Highways Around Boston* (Boston, 1904), 172.

V. East elevation of Pleasant Hill as originally designed.
Copy of a sketch now lost.
Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.



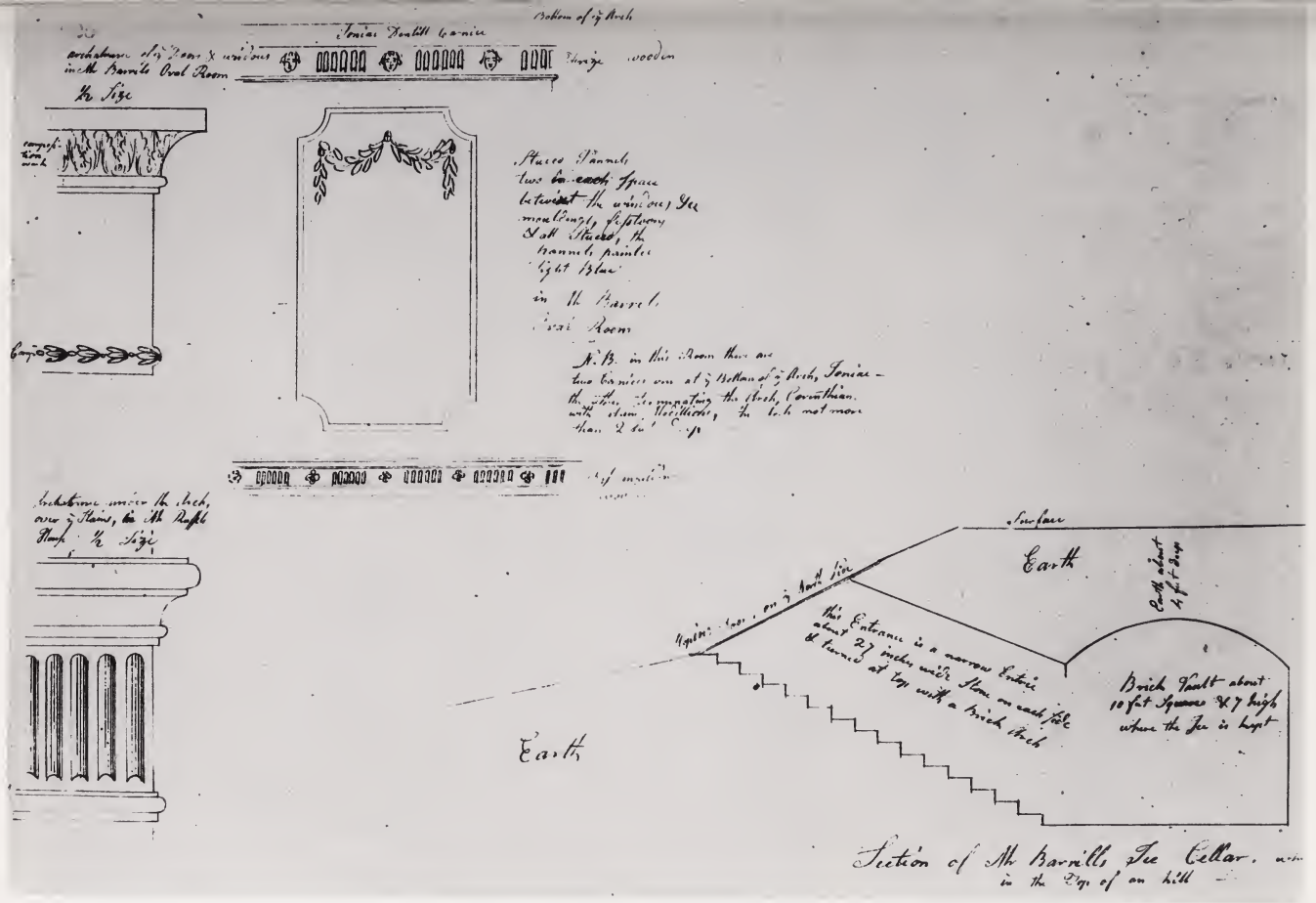
VI. East elevation of Pleasant Hill as originally designed.
Drawing by Charles Bulfinch in the Boston Athenæum.

VII. East elevation of Pleasant Hill as altered.

Photograph in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

VIII. Staircase in Pleasant Hill, 1792–1896.

Photograph in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.



IX. Details of Pleasant Hill sketched by Samuel McIntire.

Drawing in the Essex Institute.

X. Interior of Pleasant Hill.
Photograph in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

XI. Mahogany desk-and-bookcase once owned by Joseph Barrell.
Courtesy of the Henry Francis du Pont

Bentley recorded on the same date, "Barrell's house advanced to the second story, upon Letchmore's Point and Coble Hill."[9]

It was in this setting that Barrell was to create his ideal country seat. The grounds would be adorned with the finest trees, lawns, terraces, gardens, fish ponds, dovecotes, poultry yard, stables, a large barn and a boathouse.[1] The house itself has long been ascribed to Bulfinch by reason of several mentions of his name in Barrell's letters. However, the rather recent discovery of three of Bulfinch's own drawings of the house confirms the matter. One of these at the Boston Athenæum shows the east elevation of the house. This side overlooked his gardens and the Charles River, affording a fine prospect of Boston. The main feature of the house was a large oval drawing room on the main floor, one story high, on the roof of which were two sixteen-foot Corinthian columns, with pilasters against the house, supporting the upper roof which covered the balcony. Bulfinch had seen prototypes for this swell-front type of structure on his trip abroad.

The building was 74 feet by 42 feet. The western front, a carriage entrance, had a porch supported by four Ionic columns, on squares of Scotch granite. The steps, the caps and sills, and the belt course, were of the same stone.

The walls were of brick and the timber of hewn pine, brought from the Kennebec where Barrell had extensive holdings, measuring 12 by 12, and sometimes 16 by 16 inches. The floors were deadened by brick laid between the floor joists, with an under floor laid over them. Brick fire stops or rodent stops were laid behind all the baseboards. The inner partitions not of brick were of two-inch pine plank set very closely together with split hemlock laths, forming a thin, yet very sturdy, partition. From this brief description, it is evident the best and strongest materials were used.

Moving inside the house, the plan of the first floor shows four generous rooms at the corners, the center section given over to the oval room and large vestibule and hallway leading to it. The stairway was an unusual one. It was a flying staircase, ascending at each end, thirty-two feet in length. It came together at a landing in the center, supported by four

[9] Bentley, Diary, I. 395.

[1] This description of the house is drawn largely from Rev. Edward G. Porter, "Demolition of the McLean Asylum at Somerville," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Second Series, X (April, 1896), 548–552. Porter viewed the building at the time of its demolition. The best illustrated article on the house is Frank C. Brown, "The Joseph Barrell Estate, Somerville, Massachusetts: Charles Bulfinch's First Country House," *Old-Time New England*, XXXVIII (January, 1948), 52–62.

fluted posts. It then went up three steps to another landing, and diverged to the right and left to landings connecting with the second floor.[2]

II.

Through his three hundred and fifty-page letter book, a recent gift of Benjamin Joy to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Joseph Barrell is able to tell us much about his house. The letter book covers the years 1792 to 1797 and is restricted mostly to personal—not business—letters that are as complete and valuable a commentary of the trials of the new house owner as any that are written today.

While still living at Summer Street in the winter of 1792 and 1793, he ordered many articles for Pleasant Hill. In December 1792 Barrell had ordered material for finishing some curtains. He wrote to his brother in London, ordering "6 lbs. of silk exactly the colour of the Pattern, as I want it to make fringe for some Damask curtains."[3] It had not arrived five months later, and once again Barrell asked for it, "properly twisted for the fringe."[4] With the first order, he added that his daughter "wishes a compleat set of silk shades for working embroidery."

On 12 January 1793 he wrote to his brother Nathaniel in New York:

> I rec'd your favour by Mr. Bulfinch to observe you had procured the iron hearths. . . . I observe the price of the cover for the table. I should be glad of one but think they are too high. I understand there are candlesticks with them, which I do not want.[5]

On 13 February he ordered "4 masts of 20 inches and 20 feet long for pillars at my house," adding, "The longer they have been seasoned, the better."[6] The next month he wrote Nathaniel in New York again, wondering where the iron hearths and live oysters he had ordered were, and also wanted "2 white marble chimney pieces of the whitest marble you can get."[7]

In March he wrote to Major Webb of Weathersfield "my house is in forwardness and before the first of May barring accidents, I shall be

[2] The stairway was saved after the house was torn down in 1896 or 1897. It was then incorporated in a house built for Mr. Francis Shaw in Wayland. This house, too, was taken down in 1942 and the stairway was given to the Somerville Historical Society, where it has recently been re-erected.

[3] 20 December 1792, L.B., 4.

[4] 25 May 1793, L.B., 54, 55.

[5] L.B., 13.

[6] Barrell to Thomas Martin, 13 February 1793, L.B., 25.

[7] 10 March 1793, L.B., 31.

there."[8] Perhaps the planning had taken its toll, because in the same month he asked his brother Colburn in London to send a watch with a plain dial and large hands "for I find old eyes cannot see as well as young."[9]

In the spring, he moved to Pleasant Hill, selling the Summer Street house to Charles Vaughn, the brother-in-law of Bulfinch.[1] In a long letter to Nathaniel, it was obvious that not everything was going according to schedule:

I shall depend on the iron hearths, for which, with the marble chimney pieces, I am now waiting. The hearth of marble I think to do without, as Connecticut stone is best for use. Mr. Pomeroy tells me he has given directions for the frames of his looking glasses to be made after the English fashion, & as we have seen some from France lately that are very neat, I wish you would give orders to have my glasses framed in the manner of Mr. Pomeroys & the guilding done in such a way that it will not come off in wetting. The small glasses being for chimney pieces must have only square frames, the others for the piers may be ornamented as fashionable.[2]

Once more, he wondered where the oysters were. These, by the way, were not for immediate consumption. Barrell had prepared a bed for them in the river, and when they finally arrived, he naturalized them in the Charles River—a feat which certainly would be impossible today! He also introduced several new species of fish to the vicinity as well as domesticating trout in a fountain near his summer house; so it should be stated that his interests extended beyond his land. The oysters had not yet arrived in May, and he expressed his disappointment to Nathaniel once again, also ordering another hearth and an "iron back suitable for the chimney."[3]

On 28 May 1793 he wrote to a London agent, Thomas Dickson, ordering carpeting and wallpaper:

I want for a carpet for my hall a painted canvas without seams, 20 by 22, but with the neatest small figure & border, and 25 feet by 8-½ feet each to answer the same figure without any border, as I wish to cut it up to have it go under my stairs. I wish the ground a strong bright grass green; also 14 rolls of very handsome paper for a hall—the figures neat & not too large, the ground a handsome stone color. The height of the wall above the dado is 8′ 4″, without allowing anything for the border, which may be some guide in chusing a paper that will

[8] 21 March 1793, L.B., 39.
[9] 26 March 1793, L.B., 40.
[1] Charles A. Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen* (Boston, 1925), 148.
[2] 31 March 1793, L.B., 44, 45.
[3] 17 May 1793, L.B., 45.

not cut to waste, And 6 rolls of bright Mazerine blue plain—with borders for both.—The chimney pieces are very handsome, but as I think them too high prized, I shall for the present omit them. The medallions are pretty & I shall keep them. I request you will omit the painted carpets, as I find I can supply myself sooner here.[4]

In the following year, Barrell wrote to Benjamin Joy:

I've just determined to have a carpet for my Summer Room instead of the canvas now on it. I shall therefore be glad if you send for a Brussels carpet of the following dimensions 22 ft. 6 in. x 19′ 1″—the colour of the damask enclosed—covered with handsome bunches of flowers.[5]

In a long series of letters to Shaler and Hall, the firm that provided the Scotch granite for steps and terraces, Barrell constantly had to get after them to make their shipments in time. In June of 1793, he wrote them:

I am exceedingly disappointed in not receiving the stone steps I so long ago desired, more especially those with the string pieces as my laying out my garden is stopped thereby. I hope my disappointment is not owing to your finding the stones for the theatre in Boston, as it was entirely to my recommendation that they were sent for.[6]

Barrell was on a committee for building this theater, which Bulfinch also designed; and after pointing this out to Shaler and Hall, he was pleased to see that all future orders were handled with great promptness by these Scots. In one letter to them, he told them not to be afraid to tell him if they could not supply him. He merely wanted a definite answer, he said, " 'For the life of suspense is the life of a spider!' "[7]

Although the transportation situation improved, the problems were not all solved. In the next year he wrote them, "Have waited to consult with Mr. Bulfinch as to some steps I yet want. Those I received last from you either from his mistake or yours are not long enough."[8]

On 31 May 1793, Bentley gave this report on the house:

In the morning I stopped at Mr Barrell on Cable hill, so called when a fort was erected there. The plan of the Building is to me new, & not entirely executed. The Saloon is oval fronting the Town. The Cellars are in the best order. The flights of stairs in a vast entry opening towards the country & meet upon the

[4] 28 May 1793, L.B., 55, 56.
[5] 9 December 1794, L.B., 154.
[6] 18 June 1793, L.B., 60.
[7] Barrell to Shaler and Hall, 1 July 1793, L.B., 64.
[8] 18 May 1794, L.B., 115.

first floor. There is an oval opening above which preserves the communication above, with a neat balustrade & the stairs are back. Every thing discovered expence, but taste, & elegance. The prospect is the best I ever beheld.[9]

In 1793 and 1794 he also ordered a register stove for his library room —"the border round and japanned,"[1] more Corinthian capitals, six gross of cider bottles—which were not to be had in Boston,[2] and several Brussels carpets, one an oval one "covered with sprigs."[3] As do many people today, he must have felt that his presence in the partially finished house would help in its more rapid completion. On 1 January 1795 he wrote "My house is entirely finished except my best room. The carpenters' work will be completed in a few days when I shall wait for plaster of Paris to finish the stucco."[4]

The oval room was approximately 32 by 24 feet. In 1795, after the stucco work had been completed, Elias Hasket Derby of Salem received permission to send his own designer, Samuel McIntire, to Pleasant Hill to take notes and make sketches, for Derby wanted the very latest and best ideas to go into the planning of a new house he wanted to build. It is a happy and fitting coincidence that Barrell, Bulfinch, Derby and McIntire should come together in this way, since both Pleasant Hill and the Derby Mansion were perhaps the two most important houses built in Massachusetts in the last decade of the eighteenth century. McIntire's drawings at Essex Institute give us great insight into the original appearance of the room.[5] He drew a door and window capping, while beside it is a sketch of one of the wall panels, with the wooden ceiling molding and base molding. Two of these panels were set between the windows. They were painted a light blue. McIntire also noted that the arched or coved ceiling, which started at the "Ionic dentilled cornice" at the top of this sketch, extended up for two feet, terminating in a Corinthian cornice with plain modillions.

For fitting out the oval room Barrell wrote to his brother Colburn in London in February 1795:

I want 2 Register Stoves to be made exactly as they are for fireplaces in my oval room and are covered by looking glass windows, which by opening, show the

[9] Bentley, Diary, II. 28.

[1] Barrell to Thomas Dickson, 4 November 1793, L.B., 78.

[2] Barrell to Daniel McCormick, 26 February 1794, L.B., 110.

[3] Barrell to Benjamin Joy, 2 December 1794, L.B., 148.

[4] L.B., 158.

[5] McIntire papers, F.P. 5. McIntire made sketches of details of the Barrell house and the Thomas Russell house, both in Charlestown, and both designed by Bulfinch.

fireplace. I mention this that you may know there must be no polished steel about them as they will be much opposed to rust. I would therefore have the border about them of Tutenag or East India white copper, which if you think too dear may be of brass or Princess mettle, but I should prefer the copper.[6]

The early use of mirrored doors in this letter is noteworthy. Even earlier, in 1793, he had written to his brother Nathaniel in New York, "I beg you will send me by the first opportunity 30 squares of looking glasses 18 x 12″ without frames. I want them to form two windows."[7]

In March, he sent to John Atkinson of New York a board as a mold for "two marble hearths of white marble of the best kind. I want them for the 2 fire places in my Oval Room."[8] In November he wrote to John Hoskins:

Therefore desire you will procure for my Oval Room a pair of elegant oval glasses framed in the neatest manner and gilt in such a way that the gilding will not wash off. The space they are to occupy is 4′3″ by 3′ 10″. . . . Pray attend to the packing, for in France they are clumsy enough at that work, and be sure the mirrors are without any flaw or defect of any kind.[9]

He also asked Hoskins to try to find two pictures for panels in the room, about twenty-one inches square, to match the two paintings "that are in my room, which you remember are views with elegant waterfalls."

The next month he wrote Hoskins again about a chandelier:

I want an elegant lustre for my oval room. If the one you mention is so very elegant, why will it not do? At any rate I wish you to get me one that is light, airy, & elegant, to hold not exceeding 12 lights, and if they should be fixed with argent lamps, I should prefer them to candles, but in that case, they must be absolutely secured from dropping oil.[1]

He also mentioned he would like four more pictures to flank the mirrors, if Hoskins could find suitable ones.

One interesting feature of the oval room was Barrell's feeling that the windows must have imported plate glass. He wrote his brother Nathaniel in New York, "Do you hear nothing more respecting the plate glass for my oval room? If it does not come soon, I must have recourse to the glass of this country."[2]

[6] 6 February 1795, L.B., 163. Barrell had tried to order suitable stones in 1793 from New York, but could not get what he wanted (L.B., 78).

[7] 29 October 1793, L.B., 76.

[8] 1 March 1795, L.B., 172.

[9] 9 November 1795, L.B., 213.

[1] 21 December 1795, L.B., 225.

[2] 25 August 1793, L.B., 67.

There are other mentions of equipment for this room in the letter book, all of which, together with the few poor later photographs which have survived, afford the interested person an exact description of what was the most important room in a Federal dwelling of the time, combining lightness and elegance in the most tasteful manner.

In 1795 Barrell married Electra Brigham of Stockbridge, who was to die a few years later.[3] He then married Sarah Webb, the sister of Major Webb of Weathersfield, Connecticut. She survived him. The house was a busy one in the nineties, not only with the activities of Barrell and the children, but with constant visits of many friends, not to mention his own brothers and their families, many of which are still genealogists' nightmares.

In 1797, however, one visitor was interested in more than the house. Joseph Dennie, Jr., who has optimistically been called the American Addison, was more than delighted with young Hannah. He wrote in August:

> For at five o'clock I found myself, by Barrell's civility, at his chateau and by his daughter's side . . . I am not much in the habit of tacking on the epithets, angelic and divine, by way of fringe to a petticoat, but am willing to allow that Miss B. is a very perfect mortal, and as pretty a piece of flesh as any in all Messina.[4]

Had Dennie's eye been taken by the inanimate furnishings of Pleasant Hill, we might have a clearer picture of the objects used there. Some are known, however, and they, with the letter book and Barrell's inventory, give us some knowledge of the interior accessories.

Although he had lost most of his household furnishings during the Revolution, a few pieces had been saved. Among them was a large French tapestry showing a bucolic scene, now owned by a descendant. In 1789, when Washington visited Boston, Barrell lent this for a formal assembly accorded the important guest. He was also one of a committee of three to escort Washington from Worcester to Boston for the occasion using his own equipment. This tapestry was used also at Pleasant Hill in the summer dining room, and in 1796 he wrote John Hoskins asking him if he could find another "elegant piece of tapestry 13 feet long and 8′3″ high."[5]

In his dining room, he had some Höchst German procelain figures—or "images." His London agent procured them from a sale at an English

[3] See Thomas Bellows Wyman, *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown* (Boston, 1879), 60, 61.

[4] Dennie to Jeremiah Mason, 6 August 1797, reprinted in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XVII (March, 1880), 363. Hannah married Benjamin Joy the following year.

[5] 29 January 1796, L.B., 238.

country house and Barrell was very pleased to have been able to acquire these objects which had been originally owned by a member of the British nobility.[6]

In April of 1795 he wrote Hoskins:

If you meet with a handsome cover for a (dining) table of looking glass, and a pyramid of handsome cut glass for the middle of the table . . . I wish you would buy them. Also 4 handsome damask table cloths 22′ by 8′.[7]

He also asked Hoskins to find for him "a set of elegant coolers for the table, 2 for glasses and 4 for decanters—or half the number of each—and second hand."[8] The desire for elegance was constantly tempered by the hand that held the purse strings.

In 1795 from his agent John Atkinson in New York he ordered:

Also 18 of the handsomest windsor chairs fit for Dining and my Hall. I would have them with arms, rather less in the seat than larger than common, as they will thereby accomodate more at table. I would have them painted of light blue grey colour, the same as my summer dining room. Let them be strong and neat.[9]

This, with the exception of looking glasses, is one of the few references to furniture in the letter book. Since the letters are to people living away from Boston, and since they mention little furniture, we can assume that much of it was produced locally. One important piece owned by him is a large mahogany desk-and-bookcase now at Winterthur. Upon a typically fine Massachusetts kettle or bombé base is a mirrored upper section with very rich carving. Carved swags, leafage, rams' heads and paterae abound, and the top of the case is surmounted by three carved female figures representing Justice and Prosperity flanking Hope at the top. While the carver and cabinetmaker are not known, the work is of the highest quality. This desk was given to his daughter Hannah after she married Benjamin Joy and descended in the Joy family. While the base seems of an earlier period than the top, the construction of the piece indicates they were made for each other, and family history reveals the piece was like this in the 1840's. It is a superb American desk-and-bookcase, yet one that is tantalizing in its original owner's silence about it.

The use of allegorical figures like those on the upper section of the bookcase, can be seen in the bookplate of Joseph Barrell. At the top, as on the

[6] Barrell to John Hoskins, 21 December 1795, L.B., 225.
[7] 15 April 1795, L.B., 189.
[8] 29 January 1796, L.B., 238.
[9] 1 March 1795, L.B., 172.

bookcase, is the figure of Hope. Industry and Indolence are also featured in the design, with their results graphically shown. The mottoes at the bottom are "Not always so" and "Indure but Hope." Impressions of this bookplate, which may well have been the source for the bookplate of Thomas Russell engraved by Joseph Callender of Boston, are known in both black and green ink, the latter probably for either Barrell's rarer volumes, or for a specialized collection.

Another Barrell-Joy family piece is a convex girandole mirror. The gilt frame is surmounted with a large shell, with leafage flanking it, and at the bottom two sconces, each holding two candles, are attached. Its dimensions are very close to the two Barrell ordered from France for the Oval Room. Several of these were ordered for the house, and since some were returned due to breakage, it is difficult to say where this one originally hung.

Besides the Copley portraits already mentioned, there are other family likenesses. Barrell had painted a miniature of himself by Copley and had it put in a gold bracelet which he gave his daughter Hannah. Also, Barrell had the young Boston artist Henry Sargent paint for him a portrait of the Reverend John Clarke, the minister of the First Church in Boston. This portrait is now at the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] There are also other miniatures and silhouettes of the Barrell family in private collections.

A great deal of silver is listed in the inventory, including a tea set, several salvers, and many spoons, as well as plated sconces, candlesticks, decanter stands and many other items. All of this is rather amazing, since it is known he gave his best silver to his daughter and sons before he died. A pair of cans, made long before the time of Pleasant Hill, were made by Knight Leverett of Boston for Dr. Thomas Bulfinch. They passed from him to his son Charles, who gave them to Hannah before she married Benjamin Joy. They are now owned by Mark Bortman of Boston and on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts.

Probably a great part of the silver came from abroad. However, we have seen Barrell had the *Columbia* expedition medals made by Paul Revere in 1789. Later entries in the Revere ledgers charged Barrell in 1793 for "mending sundries" and on 28 July 1796, for "mending cream pitchers" and for "a silver letter B for the back of chairs." This most likely refers to a chaise.[2]

[1] See *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I (January, 1799), 124; and *ibid.*, I (December, 1834), 482n.

[2] Revere papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.

There are also in existence some English glasses—barrel-shaped, of course—and decanters still owned by a descendant. In 1797 he ordered glasses from England. He did not want a case, however, since he said he already had "a very handsome Shagreen one."[3] Also there are a few other small pieces owned by descendants.

In the letter book, Barrell frequently ordered watches and jewelry from London. In one letter to his brother, Barrell ordered a watch for Hannah:

> My daughter who is a very good girl, wishes a gold key in the form of a very handsome Urn, both sides of christel & the lock of her Father's hair herewith plaited neatly & fixed between.[4]

This custom, then, was not always a posthumous panegyric!

Barrell was most interested in various phases of science, and in the letter book he was constantly ordering various pieces of equipment, usually from London, from maps, barometers, telescopes, microscopes and thermometers to a shower bath, magnets, a pedometer, rain gauges and elaborate electrical instruments.[5] On one occasion he ordered a large supply of fireworks.

III.

This interest in science was most evident in his landscape work. When Timothy Dwight visited Pleasant Hill in 1799, he wrote:

> It is now a beautiful plantation, and considering the short period since it was begun, highly improved. The house furnishes one of the best prospects of this charming country.[6]

It should have been beautiful, for Barrell planted thousands of trees and shrubs, as well as creating many gardens, terraces, and fountains. In the 1790's, as until recently, the New Englander's main plantings consisted of fruit trees. Barrell ordered countless pears, cherries, apples, and peaches from England. One order alone consisted of twenty each of twenty-one varieties of pear trees.[7] Another ordered from a nursery in Bordeaux 40 pear trees, 20 nectarines, 20 apricots, 20 peaches, 20 cherries, 20 plums and 20 grapes.[8] He also ordered dwarf and espaliered fruit

[3] 2 January 1797, L.B., 337.
[4] 15 November 1793, L.B., 84.
[5] Barrell to Colburn Barrell, L.B., 233.
[6] Quoted in *Gardens of Colony and State*, ed. Alice G. B. Lockwood (New York, 1931), I. 34.
[7] 30 July 1796, L.B., 291. [8] 3 August 1793, L.B., 71.

trees, especially peaches.[9] He was constantly experimenting with new types, improving fruiting habits of his trees through better pollination, and striving to develop hardier varieties of selected more tender species.

In 1793 he asked his brother Nathaniel in New York to send him one of Prince's lists.[1] William Prince and Son, in Flushing, had established the first successful commercial American nursery, issuing tree and seed catalogues before the Revolution. With this firm Barrell placed several large orders.

As Pleasant Hill was being built, Barrell and Bulfinch were two of twenty-eight men who petitioned to have the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture incorporated in March of 1792. Two years later he wrote to one of his chief suppliers, William Pringle of Lyndenham in Kent, ordering certain trees which "are spoken highly of by *The Compleat Farmer*, by a Society of Gentlemen."[2] This book, *The Compleat Farmer; or a general Dictionary of Husbandry in all its Branches*, especially the fourth London edition, was the foremost guide of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century gardeners and farmers and was owned throughout Federal America.[3]

Since the shipments from abroad were often damaged in transit or arrived at an improper planting time, the rate of mortality of the stock was frequently alarmingly high. Barrell had a Dutchman as his head gardener until he returned to Holland in 1793,[4] after which he was replaced with an Englishman recommended by Pringle. This replacement was not an easy process, however. Barrell wrote to Pringle in January of 1794:

> The person you procured for me as Gardner, Mr. James Rule, I believe is a clever man, but as I found on his arrival he had an utter aversion to be employed with any other Gardner, & as the person I have is a very good man, although I had full employ for 2 for the present season, yet to make him happy I consented he should engage with Mr. Jeffrey who stands in my employ.[5]

Many shrubs and flowers were imported for small gardens. Great attention was also given to farming operations. In addition, many ornamental and shade trees—such as the American elm and the then ubiquitous poplar—were planted on the long avenues laid out on the grounds, as

[9] Dwarf peaches, letter to John Horshand & Co., London, June, 1793, L.B., 61. Espaliered peaches, letter to Nathaniel Barrell, 29 September 1793, L.B., 73.

[1] 25 August 1793, L.B., 67.

[2] 5 December 1794, L.B., 150.

[3] A copy at Winterthur bears the Revere bookplate of John Gardiner of Gardiner's Island.

[4] 19 December 1793, L.B., 93. [5] 3 June 1794, L.B., 122.

were walnuts, mulberries, and other nut trees.[6] A greenhouse "nearly two hundred feet in length" provided ample room for both experimentation and winter blooms for the house.[7] It was here that Barrell grew successfully some of the first double white camellias in New England.[8] Two stoves for the hothouse were ordered from England.[9] Oleanders, olives, oranges, and lemons were also grown in it.

When McIntire was at Pleasant Hill, he must have received instructions to pay particular attention to Barrell's icehouse, and he made a measured drawing of it.[1] Before refrigeration came in, the problem of keeping ice in the summer was almost as great as getting rid of it in the winter. Barrell had dug down inside a hill, atop which was a terrace, and had a chamber 10 feet square and 7 feet high for his ice storage. With over twelve hundred bottles of liquor, wines, and cider listed in his inventory, this subterranean chamber assumes even more importance.

Garden figures had become very important after the Revolution and in his inventory are listed "2 urn pedestals, figures of cupids, Venus, a gardener and his wife, 4 wooden horses and a stone horse."

IV.

At sometime in the late nineties, Barrell became gravely ill.[2] His pace did not slacken entirely, however. He continued at work in Boston, traveling by either his splendid horses on land, or across the river from his boathouse on his barge with liveried boatmen.[3] He let others carry on the main portion of his business, while he invested heavily in lands in the Pacific northwest, Ohio, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Finally, in 1804 he died, having already given many of his treasures to his daughter and five sons. In an eight-page will and codicil, he carefully spelled out the disposition of

[6] Barrell to Nathaniel Barrell, 29 October 1793, L.B., 76; and Barrell to Thomas Dickson, London, 28 May 1793, L.B., 55. At one time, Pleasant Hill was also called Poplar Grove.

[7] Barrell to J. M. Pintard, 13 March 1795, L.B., 179.

[8] Windsor, Boston, IV. 622.

[9] Barrell to Thomas Dickson & Co., 28 June 1793, L.B., 63.

[1] For information on the connection between Pleasant Hill and the Derby Mansion, see Fiske Kimball, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, The Architect of Salem* (Portland, 1940). Plans and sketches of Pleasant Hill are shown in figs. 122, 123, and 128. See also Fiske Kimball, "The Elias Hasket Derby Mansion in Salem," Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, LX (October, 1924), 273–292.

[2] His illness was of a mental nature. On 29 August 1796 (L.B., 298), he wrote, "Any seeming inattention in me you will please to impute to the right cause, a distress of the mind, which for the moment, makes everything on earth appear of little value."

[3] Porter, 549, 550.

his estate—so carefully, in fact, that twelve years later his sons were still fighting with Benjamin Joy, the executor, about his not properly living up to the will. In a pamphlet battle they accused Joy of mismanagement, while he maintained his position most intelligently. Though the battle raged, it did not dim the luster of Pleasant Hill. It had cost Barrell $48,000, a large amount for that time, yet an amount which, I hope, we will agree was wisely spent.[4]

In May of 1805, Bentley wrote in his diary:

> The valuable Library of Joseph Barrell at Corn Hill, is to be sold tomorrow. This excentric man was a man of uncommon taste & for many years while he resided in Summer street, Boston, was a man of the best taste & could exhibit the best specimens. No man in New England was before him in his hospitality, unbanity [sic], & polite accomplishments. [5]

In 1816 Pleasant Hill was sold by Joy to the Massachusetts General Hospital to become the McLean Asylum. Bulfinch, who was still living, added another story with a pediment to the house, continued the ends up to three stories, and made two large buildings, each 40 by 76 feet, flanking the main building.[6]

An engraving in Richard Frothingham's *History of Charlestown* shows how the buildings looked in the early 1840's. There may be seen the pier in the foreground, as well as some of the trees that Barrell had planted. A charming water color, owned by Nina Fletcher Little, entitled "Insane Hospital Charlestown," shows the same scene with more vigor, though with less precision.[7] Throughout the nineteenth century, the buildings remained the most important in Charlestown. One author wrote of the asylum:

[4] See Charles, Henry F., George and Samuel B. Barrell, "Statement of Facts Relative to the Conduct of Mr. Benj. Joy, Executor of the Last Will and Testament of Joseph Barrell" (Boston, 1816); and Benjamin Joy, "A True Statement of Facts in Reply to a Pamphlet lately published by C., H. F., G., and S. B. Barrell" (Boston, 1816). Both at Mass. Hist Soc. Joy stated that Pleasant Hill had cost $48,000, and that Barrell was indebted to him for $92,000 resulting from poor land speculations.

[5] Bentley, Diary, III. 155.

[6] See Place, 222, 223. Also see N. I. Bowditch, *A History of the Massachusetts General Hospital* (Boston, 1851), 27.

[7] The same view, engraved by George Girdler Smith from a painting of Hammit Williams which was based on a sketch done by Edward Seager, is shown in Bowditch, opposite p. 376. A view showing the McLean Asylum in the background and the Bulfinch building of the Massachusetts General Hospital in the foreground, engraved by James W. Watts, is shown on the frontispiece of Bowditch. Both views are reproduced in *MGH–Massachusetts General Hospital–150th Anniversary, Boston Herald* (9 April 1961), 13 and 4 respectively (special section).

Here the poor patients whose wits are out may ramble in the pleasant paths and "babble o' green fields." Here we may see a Lear, there an Ophelia,—old and young, rich and poor, but with an equality of wretchedness that levels all worldly condition.[8]

Photographs taken in the eighteen nineties, show the west, or carriage, entrance, the bottom two floors of which were the original house, and the river side.

In 1896, the Boston and Maine Railroad, in the midst of a frenzy of expansion, bought the estate, after the McLean Asylum had moved to Waverley. The house was demolished, the hill was leveled, the river was filled in, and today what was once Pleasant Hill is now part of the main Boston classification freight yard of the railroad.

Pleasant Hill now exists only on paper and in its later state in the childhood memories of a few. There is no doubting it was a magnificent house, and all the credit for it must go to its owner. Being a wealthy merchant with many distant connections, Barrell did not hesitate in ordering anything he wanted from anywhere he wished. He looked beyond his own area, as must have many others in his state, frequently letting his own taste be guided by impressive things he had seen in his own travels. While Revere might mend a cream pitcher, at the same time Barrell would send one of his daughter's gold bracelets and a locker to London for repair, as well as some satin to be dyed.[9] Since his world of business was an international one, the world of furnishing and building his house was likewise. Its design was done by a local architect, and the elements of the house came from everywhere, looking glasses from France, and carpets—and even composition ornaments—from England.[1] He was an extremely astute man, paying constant attention to world affairs, idealizing his own country above all others, and loving his family deeply with the warmest affection. His ethics are nowhere more clearly shown than in a fourteen-page letter to his eldest son, giving advice on how to get along in the world. While this paper has not explored this side of his character, nevertheless I hope we have seen that he was an intelligent and a worthwhile patron who gave the fullest meaning possible to his employment "in the improvement of the land."

[8] Drake, 178.

[9] Barrell to Colburn Barrell, 1 December 1794, L.B., 148.

[1] Composition ornaments, see letter of 18 June 1795, L.B., 193.

Annual Meeting
November, 1960

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday evening, 17 December 1960. At the dinner which preceded the meeting, the Reverend RICHARD D. PIERCE said grace.

The President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, called the meeting to order at half after eight o'clock. Mr. ROBERT EARLE MOODY read the Mayflower Compact.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

Messrs. PHILIP HOFER and THOMAS JAMES WILSON were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Report of the Council

THE meetings of the Society have followed the customary pattern, with the Annual Meeting in November and Stated Meetings on 17 December 1959, at which Mr. Malcolm Freiberg was the speaker, on 18 February 1960 when Mr. Stephen T. Riley read a paper, and on 28 April 1960, when Mr. Dean A. Fales, Jr., spoke. In June a few members of the Society revisited Dr. James L. Huntington's house in Hadley.

The Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly*, and, toward the end of 1959, issued Volume 38 of its *Publications*, containing *Transactions* from 1947–1951. The printing bills for this volume have created a deficit in the accounts for the current year, but that is to be expected, for the cost of any volume has to be spread over more than the year of publication. Dr. Pierce is still at work on the First Church Records (volumes 39–41) and a number of articles are already in type for the next volume of *Transactions*.

During the year the following gentlemen have been elected to membership:

Resident:

JOHN PETERSEN ELDER
FRANK BURT FREIDEL
DEAN ABNER FALES, Jr.
CHARLES CHRISTOPHER LAING
CHARLES EDWARD STEARNS
CORNELIUS CLARKSON VERMEULE, III
RICHARD CHURCHILL VOSE, Jr.
RICHARD HARDING RANDALL, Jr.

Corresponding:

ANDREW OLIVER

Honorary:

JOHN ADAMS

The following members have died since the last Annual Meeting:

ARTHUR ADAMS, Non-Resident, 1951, Resident, 1951, died 21 June 1960. Antiquary, herald, Episcopal priest, who after retiring from the faculty of Trinity College, Hartford, came to Boston to edit the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

GEORGE POMEROY ANDERSON, Resident, 1922, died 10 August 1960. An industrious but retiring scholar, whose contributions to the Society's publications dealt with subjects as varied as royal governors, Sons of Liberty, and Stamp Act rioters.

WILLIAM HENRY BEST, Resident, 1955, died 28 October 1960. A distinguished Boston lawyer, who died before he had acquired the habit of attending meetings of the Society.

JOHN FARQUHAR FULTON, Corresponding, 1933, died June 1960. Physiologist, biographer, historian of medicine, bibliophile, gourmet, and good companion, who went from Harvard College to an Oxford fellowship, and thence to Yale.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 30 September 1960.

Statement of Assets and Funds, 30 September 1960

ASSETS

Cash:		
Principal	$28,258	
Income	*−7,418*	$20,840
Savings Bank Deposit		4,050
Savings and Loan Association Deposits		40,000
Investments in Securities:		
Bonds (Market Value $267,654)		276,566
Stocks (Market Value $327,533)		90,101
Total Assets		$431,557

FUNDS

Principal Funds	$438,975
Income (deficit)	*−7,418*
Total Funds	$431,557

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance of Income Cash, 30 September 1959		*−$1,668*
RECEIPTS:		
Dividends	$10,758	
Interest	13,719	
Annual Assessments	930	
Sale of Publications	905	
Miscellaneous Income	15	26,327
Total Receipts of Income		$24,659
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Publications:		
New England Quarterly	$3,500	
Volumes 39–41	5,127	
Volume 38	12,661	
Expenses of 87 Mount Vernon Street Property:		
Renovations, maintenance and furnishings	1,569	
Heat and Light	1,405	
Insurance	454	
Telephone and Telegraph	188	
Water	28	
Editor's Salary and Expenses	1,532	
Secretarial Expense	800	
Annual Dinner	855	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	605	

Auditing and Accounting Services	400	
Legal Services	60	
Miscellaneous Supplies and Expenses	212	
Gifts	32	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		$29,428
		−$4,769
TRANSFERS TO PRINCIPAL FUNDS:		
Sarah Louise Edes Fund	$2,336	
Albert Matthews Fund	313	2,649
INCOME CASH OVERDRAFT, 30 SEPTEMBER 1960		−$7,418

Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD gave, for himself and Mr. PIER, the report of the Auditing Committee. The Recording Secretary used the word "gave" in respect to the report in spite of the fact that Mr. OSGOOD sang a large part of it. The tune was unfortunately not recorded, but Mr. MOODY rescued the words from oblivion, confident that the security of the Society's investments as attested by the professional auditors (Messrs. Arthur Young and Company) employed by our frivolous committee can successfully withstand Mr. Osgood's shenanigans. The verses (minus tune) follow:

The Carleton Richmond Blues

Treasurer Carleton Richmond's
Looking like the wrath of God
Have you seen his pale and sickly face
Have you noticed his slow plod?

Have you wondered what's the matter
With our dear old pal
Are his gall stones bothering him
Or is it low morale?

Is it wine or women
Or some awful sin
That makes him look like something
That the cat's dragged in?

Why don't you ask him
It might brighten up his day
But I can make a damn good guess
That this is what he'll say:

Chorus:

Colonials I am suffering
But it's not with gout
The income ain't a'commin' in
As fast as it goes out.

And the auditors are after me;
I should have stayed in bed.
You may think I'm in the pink;
I'm really in the red.

I hope you'll back me up, boys,
When I make this claim,
That for all of the expenses
I'm just not to blame.

It's your Bacchanalian orgies,
It's the wine and food you choose[1]
It wouldn't cost me near so much
If you didn't like to booze.

Chorus:

Colonials, I am suffering—etc.

The way I watch investments
I deserve a crown
I consult with all the experts
That we've got in town,

But I've slipped on a banana peel
As the auditors will show.
United Fruit, I must admit,
Has hit another low.

Chorus:

Colonials, I am suffering—etc.

I hope that up in Heaven
There's a place for me;
Far away from Auditors
I'd like to be,

[1] The dinner, cooked by the Society's caretaker, Mrs. Joseph Greene, consisted of a beef consommé, coquille St. Jacques, roast squab, and meringue glacé, with Chablis Grand Cru Moutonne 1955 and Remy Chambolle Musigny 1953 to accompany it. If there *is* a problem in the cost of the dinners, it is the number of members who enjoy coming to eat them, rather than "the wine and food you choose," "you" referring presumably to the Dinner Committee, of which the Editor is Chairman.

Where there isn't any Osgood
And there isn't any Pier.
Their great delight is getting tight
And wrecking my career.

Chorus:

Colonials, I am suffering—etc.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE
Vice-Presidents SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON
Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY
Corresponding Secretary DAVID BRITTON LITTLE
Treasurer CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND
Member of Council for Three Years FREDERICK SCOULLER ALLIS, Jr.

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Mr. DAVID MCCORD read a group of poems in various moods, including a couplet recalling the association with Concord of two writers of children's books:

Louisa M. Alcott and Lois Lenski,
Little Women and Little Menski.

The speaker of the evening was the Society's Editor, Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, who reported on the investigation of the research and publication functions of independent historical societies that he had been conducting throughout the country for the Council on Library Resources, Inc., under the sponsorship of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Virginia Historical Society.[2]

[2] Published as *Independent Historical Societies An enquiry into their research and publication functions and their financial future* (Boston: Boston Athenæum, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1962), xviii + 593 pages.

December Meeting, 1960

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 15 December 1960, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. PHILIP HOFER and THOMAS JAMES WILSON, accepting election to Resident Membership, and Mr. JAMES J. HESLIN, Director of the New-York Historical Society, was elected to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Messrs. JOHN CODMAN, of Boston, HENRY SETON, of Concord, and JOHN DANIEL CUSHING, of Hingham, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. THOMAS C. BARROW read a paper entitled "The Shirley-Belcher Feud."

February Meeting, 1961

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 16 February 1961, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair. The Society was happy to welcome a Corresponding Member, Mr. R. A. SKELTON of the British Museum, whose landing in New York that morning and passage to Boston had been so fortunately expedited as to permit his arrival in time for the meeting.

Mr. ALLIS, for the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. JOHN CODMAN, HENRY SETON, and JOHN DANIEL CUSHING accepting election to Resident Membership, and of one from Mr. JAMES J. HESLIN accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. ROGER ALLAN MOORE, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The President reported the death of Lucius J. Knowles, a Non-Resident Member, that had taken place on 14 January 1961, and that of J. Harold Easterby, Archivist of South Carolina, who was to have been elected a Corresponding Member of the Society at this meeting. Mr. Whitehill spoke of Mr. Easterby's accomplishments as a historian, as editor of the colonial records of South Carolina, and as the helpful supporter of the edition of the papers of John C. Calhoun that is now appearing.

The President introduced Mr. SKELTON, who expressed his pleasure at attending a meeting of the Society for the first time.

Mr. ALLEN LUDWIG, of Yale University, read a paper entitled: "The Visual Imagery of Puritanism," which was illustrated by slides of some of the remarkable photographs that he had taken of New England gravestones.

April Meeting, 1961

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 April 1961, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. ROGER ALLAN MOORE accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Messrs. THOMAS CHURCHILL BARROW, of Salem, and MARCUS A. MCCORISON, of Worcester, were elected Resident Members, and Mr. EDWARD CHASE KIRKLAND, of Thetford Center, Vermont, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ELLIOTT PERKINS and MYRON PIPER GILMORE.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLIAM BRADFORD OSGOOD and JOHN BRYANT PAINE, Jr.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL and DAVID BRITTON LITTLE.

Mr. MARCUS A. MCCORISON then read a paper entitled: "The Bayley-Hazen Military Road,"[1] illustrated by colored slides showing the topography of this route, built in the later years of the American Revolution with the intent of providing a shorter passage between Vermont and Canada.

[1] Mr. McCorison has published related material in "The Bayley-Hazen Military Road," *Vermont History*, XXVII (June, 1959), 57–68, and "Colonial Defense of the Upper Connecticut Valley," *Vermont History*, XXX (January, 1962), 50–62.

Annual Meeting
November, 1961

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 16 November 1961. At the dinner which preceded the meeting, the Reverend RICHARD D. PIERCE said grace.

The President, Mr. RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE, called the meeting to order at half after eight o'clock. Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read the Mayflower Compact.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

Mr. LEO FLAHERTY, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Report of the Council

FOUR meetings were held during the past year at the Society's House, beginning with the Annual Meeting on 17 November 1960. On the afternoon of 15 December, Mr. Thomas C. Barrow read a paper, "The Shirley-Belcher Feud," and on 16 February 1961 Mr. Allan Ludwig of New Haven showed slides of colonial New England gravestones to illustrate a paper on "The Visual Imagery of Puritanism." At the evening meeting on 28 April 1961, Mr. Marcus A. McCorison, the new Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, spoke on "The Bayley-Hazen Military Road," showing color slides of the region between Newbury and St. Johnsbury, Vermont, through which this route toward Canada was built in the later part of the American Revolution.

The Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly*, of which it is joint publisher. Volumes 39, 40, and 41 of our *Publications*, *The Records of the First Church of Boston, 1630–1868*, edited by the Reverend Richard D. Pierce, are nearing publication and will be distributed to those members who request them early in the new year. The printing of the 1,086 pages of text was completed many months ago, but the compilation and proofreading of the 167-page index, which includes a fantastic number of proper names, required many months of exacting labor by Dr.

Pierce. The printing of the Introduction, which opens Volume I and of the Index, which concludes Volume III, is now being completed, while Volume II, which contains pages 345 to 568 of the records is already bound. While many pages of the records, consisting of lists of admissions to membership, baptisms, marriages and the like, will be chiefly consulted for reference, some of the earlier years will provide more entertaining side lights upon the habits of seventeenth-century Bostonians. In the Index under "Discipline" one finds such subjects as "Ale-house hunting," "Disorderly singing," "Disorderly walking," "Drowning of children," "Irregular prophesying," "Joining Quakers," "Sporting at quoytes."

The following gentlemen have been elected to membership during the past year:

Resident:

Philip Hofer
Thomas James Wilson
John Codman
Henry Seton
John Daniel Cushing
Roger Allan Moore
Thomas Churchill Barrow
Marcus A. McCorison

Corresponding:

James J. Heslin
Edward Chase Kirkland

Thomas C. Barrow having accepted an appointment to the faculty of the University of Missouri a few months after his election as a Resident Member has been transferred to Non-Resident Membership.

With great regret we record the deaths of four members:

Mark Antony de Wolfe Howe, Resident, 1911, Honorary 1955, died 6 December 1960. The senior man of letters in Boston, and the beloved friend of nearly every member of this Society. Few men have pursued their craft with such industry and inspired such affection on every hand.

Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Resident, 1943, died 20 April 1961. A remarkable collector in many fields, who gave nearly sixty years of his life to the Peabody Museum of Salem, of which he was Director Emeritus at the time of his death.

Carl Purington Rollins, Corresponding, 1952, died 20 November

1960. A great printer and a great man, who after forty years in New Haven remembered more of his native Essex County than most people have been able to learn.

LUCIUS JAMES KNOWLES, Resident, 1949, Non-Resident, 1955, died 14 January 1961. A huge, generous and lovable survival from the eighteenth century, who enjoyed the company of scholars as greatly as they enjoyed being with him.

The most notable gift to the Society's House during the year was the portrait of Sargeant Adair by George Romney, given by Andrew Oliver. The house has been used during the year by the Harvard and M.I.T. History Departments, by the Trustees of Emerson and Marlboro Colleges, and the Peabody Museum of Salem, and other appropriate groups. In June, 1961 the Harvard–M.I.T. Joint Center for Urban Studies held a two-day conference of city planners there. As always we are greatly indebted to Mrs. Joseph Greene for her admirable care of the house and the excellence of the annual dinner. Henry M. Channing and the William Ellery Channing Memorial, of which he is President, continue the care and embellishment of the Channing Room on the third floor, and assist the Society generously in many ways.

A vote of thanks to Mr. WHITEHILL for his continued care of the Society's interests was unanimously passed.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 30 September 1961.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 30 SEPTEMBER 1961

ASSETS

Cash:		
Principal	$23,604	
Income	−1,315	$22,289
Savings Bank Deposit		4,209
Savings and Loan Association Deposits		40,000
Investments in Securities:		
Bonds (Market Value $270,250)		277,483
Stocks (Market Value $423,770)		97,780
TOTAL ASSETS		$441,761

FUNDS

Principal Funds	$443,076
Income (deficit)	*–1,315*
Total Funds	$441,761

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance of Income Cash, 30 September 1960		*–$7,418*
RECEIPTS:		
Dividends	$11,263	
Interest	12,139	
Annual Assessments	985	
Sale of Publications	570	24,957
Total Receipts of Income		17,539
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Publications: New England Quarterly	$3,500	
Expenses of 87 Mount Vernon Street Property:		
Renovations, maintenance and furnishings	5,242	
Heat and Light	1,912	
Insurance	1,129	
Telephone and Telegraph	258	
Water	45	
Editor's Salary	1,500	
Annual Dinner	800	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	659	
Auditing and Accounting Services	400	
Miscellaneous Supplies and Expenses	108	
Gifts	557	
Total Disbursements of Income		$16,110
Balance of Income, 30 September 1961		$1,429
TRANSFERS TO PRINCIPAL FUNDS:		
Sarah Louise Edes Fund	$2,424	
Albert Matthews Fund	320	2,744
Income Cash Overdraft, 30 September 1961		*–$1,315*

Mr. John Bryant Paine, Jr., read the report of the Auditing Committee, indicating that they had employed the firm of Messrs. Arthur Young and Company to make an audit of the accounts and to examine the securities, and presented the report of that firm to the meeting.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON
Vice-Presidents SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD
Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY
Corresponding Secretary DAVID BRITTON LITTLE
Treasurer CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND
Member of the Council for Three Years DEAN ABNER FALES, Jr.

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Mr. DAVID MCCORD read a selection of his recent poems. Mr. L. H. BUTTERFIELD, Editor in Chief of The Adams Papers, then addressed the Society.

December Meeting, 1961

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 21 December 1961, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. LEO FLAHERTY accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

The Right Reverend Monsignor FRANCIS JOSEPH LALLY, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL then read a paper entitled: "The Proposed Work of the Boston Historical Conservation Committee," of which he is Chairman. After reviewing the work of existing historical societies in the area of historical preservation, Mr. WHITEHILL reviewed the circumstances that had led to the appointment by Mayor John F. Collins of this group of fifty citizens who are charged with the formulation of a policy of historic preservation for the city and the preparation of an inventory of monuments.

February Meeting, 1962

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 15 February 1962, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in December were read and approved.

The Editor, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from the Right Reverend Monsignor FRANCIS JOSEPH LALLY accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. J. BRUCE SINCLAIR, Director of the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, North Andover, Massachusetts, read a paper entitled:

The Merrimack Valley Textile Museum: A New Institution for an Important Aspect of American History

THE Merrimack Valley Textile Museum is a new museum. It was incorporated in 1960, to preserve and communicate the history of wool manufacturing in this country.[1] In its beginnings, the museum was the result of a happy combination of naïveté and a deep-rooted desire to add to man's store of knowledge. The innocence made for a certain freedom of movement which permitted rapid action; the creative passion produced an unusually specialized museum.

Most museums are started either because of an idea, the Smithsonian, for example; or a collection, the Shelburne Village museum, for instance. The Merrimack Valley Textile Museum was the result of these two forces joined. The most easily identified beginning was the impending

[1] According to its By-laws, the museum was established, "For literary, educational and benevolent purposes, chiefly in interpreting and communicating the history of the wool textile industry in America, in collecting, preserving and exhibiting objects of historical, antiquarian, artistic or technological interest or value, in publishing, acquiring and maintaining books, records and other writings on any subject or subjects having any such interest, in maintaining archives and reference libraries, and in acquiring, maintaining, exhibiting and publishing pictures, photographs, drawings and models of any and all kinds."

acquisition, by the North Andover Historical Society, of a large collection of antique hand looms, spinning wheels, winders and other devices related to the hand manufacture of textiles. These objects had been collected over the course of his lifetime by Samuel D. Stevens, a local resident, prominent textile manufacturer, and founder of the North Andover Historical Society. In all likelihood, Mr. Stevens intended that the collection ultimately should come to the Historical Society. But he made no such specific disposition and by a hand-me-down process typical of New England, the orphans landed on the Historical Society's doorstep some thirty-five years after his death.

In trying to determine what to do with the collection, the Historical Society's Board of Directors first hit upon the idea of putting everything in an old red barn which they would find somewhere and move to the Society's back lot. Looms and spinning wheels would be set up in the barn and at periodic intervals a costumed lady might demonstrate the use of these ancient machines. But this notion soon gave way to the impulse to do something more creative with the collection, and at that juncture the collection ceased to be the motivating force behind the museum. In its place came an idea for a new institution.

The idea which gradually took form was that the Historical Society would use the Stevens collection as the introduction to the history of a period later than that of most of the objects in the collection. These early devices of colonial times would be used as a preface in museum exhibits showing the early factory production of textiles, and the museum which housed the exhibits would mainly be concerned with early American industrial history. The decision to develop a museum of industrial history, rather than a barn with colonial handcraft exhibits, was a logical and creative use for the collection the Historical Society had inherited. However, once made, the decision led just as logically to the creation of an independent institution, separate from the Historical Society in physical plant, operation, and objectives. Thus, in the early spring of 1960 a nonprofit, educational corporation, the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, was chartered under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. A new building was begun that year and completed in the summer of 1961.

In the process of deciding to build a museum of industrial history, the Trustees of the new institution also concluded to direct the museum's attention especially to the history of the wool industry in this country.

It is difficult to realize the past importance of textile manufacturing, not only in New England, but throughout the nation. The early textile fac-

tories of New England represented the Industrial Revolution in its earliest American stages. Of all types of manufacturing, textile mills first presented to the eye all the good and bad aspects of industrialization and in 1825 when one spoke of the factory system, capitalists, or the working class, these terms were most readily identified by new developments in textile manufacturing. Textile manufacturing was the beginning of the nineteenth-century industrial transformation of this country.

Like the book everyone has heard about but few have read, the history of textile manufacturing is generally familiar but little understood. The conclusion is implicit in the dramatic and much neglected story itself. Even a summary review instantly reminds one of the continuing importance of the subject, from the time of the first settlements. Many of the first settlers of New England came from cloth-making districts. Lacking the means to buy good English broadcloth (and there is no question that fabrics from home were preferred), the earliest colonists were forced to make their own. And in the honorable New England fashion, they made necessity a virtue, rewarding those who would establish a fulling mill, for the finishing of homemade cloth, and encouraging those who would grow flax and wool.

The long series of legislative enactments to stimulate domestic industry illustrate the nature of the problem. "Forasmuch as woolen cloth is so useful a commodity, &c., by reason of the cold winters, and being at present scarce and deare," the General Court of Massachusetts in 1645 urged towns in the colony to preserve and increase their sheep.[2]

One of the first attempts to manufacture cloth was in Rowley, Massachusetts in 1639, by the Rev. Mr. Ezekial Rogers and those of his parish who had followed him from Rowley in Yorkshire to settle Rowley in Essex County. There, "they built a fulling mill, and caused their little ones to be very diligent in spinning cotton wool, many of them having been clothiers in England, till their zeal to promote the Gospel of Christ caused them to wander."[3] Almost every settlement had a fulling mill and a weaver as soon as the first pioneer stage was ended—and this pattern was just as true for new western communities in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it had been for those coastal settlements of the seventeenth century.[4] Typical of the efforts of early settlements to secure the

[2] J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860* (Philadelphia, 1864), I. 310.

[3] Bishop, I. 305.

[4] The weaver William Rix was working in Boston by 1640 and evidence indicates that the trade was practiced early in the establishment of other settlements. Arthur

services of textile craftsmen is the 1682 resolution of the Andover town meeting:[5]

> Granted liberty to any man, that the town or committee shall choose, to set up a saw mill, fulling mill, and grist mill upon Shawshin river near Rogers brook, to take up 20 acres of land adjoining said place, and to enjoy the same forever with the privilege of a townsman.

In a relatively short period of time following initial settlement, a system of household manufacturing was developed which lasted without much change until around 1760. Many elements of the household system are familiar, but to examine them again is to be reminded of the extent to which the system entered into the lives of Americans during the colonial period. To clothe oneself is a basic necessity of life, to do so in an "underdeveloped nation" requires a great deal of time and energy and is an activity in which the vast majority of the population must engage.

The dominant feature of the household manufacture of textiles was local, small-scale production. Most people performed some of the processes themselves—usually raw material preparation, spinning, and sometimes weaving—and hired someone else to perform the more difficult processes, certainly all the finishing operations. One of the elements of the household system was the local fulling mill. Cloth directly from the loom was loosely woven, and to make a durable, warm fabric required shrinking and washing, usually with a compound known as fuller's earth. The process matted the fibers, drew them closer together and gave a stiff, felted appearance to the cloth's surface. The finishing of coarse cloths often ended with the fulling process, but fine cloths also required napping, shearing and pressing for a quality finish. These operations, along with dyeing, were carried out at the local fulling mill.

It is important to realize, however, that the local fulling mill never manufactured cloth. There were skilled artisans in the textile trade who practiced their crafts in the very earliest stages of settlement, but there never developed in this country, to any significant degree, a handcraft textile industry with all stages of manufacturing performed by artisans. There were weavers who wove the yarns spun at home and fullers who finished cloth, whether woven at home or by a professional weaver. But spinning, weaving, and finishing were never performed under one roof during the colonial period and it would be safe to say that during the same period,

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H. Cole, *The American Wool Manufacture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), I. 14.

[5] Abiel Abbot, *History of Andover from its Settlement to 1829* (Andover, 1829), 50.

the various operations were seldom, if ever, entirely performed by artisans who were occupied solely at that trade. Most Americans of that time either made their own clothing according to the system described, or purchased imported goods. There was no guild system to provide a third alternative.[6]

The household system of operation, as it was practiced in this country (and in contrast to systems employed in Great Britain or on the Continent), gave a special character to cloth manufacturing here. Governor Moore, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, excellently described the system as it existed in 1767: "every house swarms with children, who are set to work as soon as they are able to Spin and Card."[7]

The household system of textile manufacture touched practically every colonial home. A basic part of every child's education was to learn one of the processes; the virtue of a young lady was cast in terms of her dexterity at the spinning wheel and the touchstone of domestic felicity was household manufacture.

The system lasted without change at least until 1760. There were mild variations, such as the spinning crazes which periodically visited Boston. The first of these eccentricities occurred in 1721 when three hundred young spinsters gathered on Boston Common to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Boston Society for Promoting Industry and Frugality. But these fevers were of momentary duration and did not alter the main outlines of the system.

The significant change in the household system came with the incidents immediately preceding the War for Independence. The dramatic crisis of the Stamp Act served to mobilize opinion and activity favoring domestic manufacture. A poem in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of 19 November 1767 well illustrates the spirit:[8]

> Young ladies in town and those that live round,
> Let a friend, at this season, advise you,
> Since money's so scarce, and times growing worse,
> Strange things may soon hap and surprise you.
> First, then, throw aside your high top-knots of pride,
> Wear none but your own country linen.
> Of economy boast, let your pride be the most
> To show cloaths of your own make and spinning.
> What if homespun, they say, is not quite so gay

[6] Cole, I. viii; 48 ff.

[7] Cole, I. 16.

[8] As quoted in William R. Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1893), 57.

As brocades, yet be not in a passion;
For when once it is known this is much wore in town,
One and all will cry out, "'Tis the fashion."
And, as one and all, agree that you'll not married be
To such as will wear London Factory;
But, at first sight, refuse; tell 'em such you do chuse
As encourage our own manufactory.

Spinning bees became popular and the patriotic motives for the occasions are clear in the descriptions of such gatherings.[9] The same spirit prompted the October, 1767 Boston town meeting resolution:[1]

That some effectual measures might be agreed upon to promote Industry, Œconomy, and Manufactures, thereby to prevent the unnecessary Importation of European Commodities, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin.

Wartime conditions influenced the system of domestic textile manufacturing in two ways. In the first instance, patriotic desire to exclude English fabrics led to a limited development of the putting-out system, a situation which might be described as halfway between home and factory production. The *Pennsylvania Packet* for 4 December 1775 carried a notice of the managers of the American Manufactory, stating their earnest desire to employ "every good spinner that can apply." Women were offered cash for hemp, flax, or woolen yarn, to be spun at home or on the premises. In the same notice the managers expressed their appreciation "to all these industrious women who are now employed in spinning for the factory. The skill and diligence of many entitles them to the public acknowledgement."[2] In a small measure, there was actual change in the household system and the change was toward a factory system. At the time, few people would have imagined the American Manufactory as an instrument of transition, leading the textile industry out of the home and into the factory. However, the impetus for cloth of "our own manufacture" did lead in the immediate postwar period to the establishment of the earliest factories.

[9] A typical gathering was the one held in Rowley, Massachusetts, in 1769. "A number of thirty-three respectable ladies of this town met about sunrise, with their wheels, to spend the day at the house of the Rev'd Jedediah Jewell, in the laudable design of a spinning match. At an hour before sunset, the ladies then appearing neatly dressed, principally in homespun, a polite and generous repast of American production was set for their entertainment, after which, being present many spectators of both sexes, Mr. Jewett (*sic*) delivered a suitable and instructive discourse from Rom. xii, 211: 'Not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord.' " Bagnall, 58.

[1] Bagnall, 37.

[2] Bagnall, 70.

It is at this point that we see the second principal effect of wartime patriotism. Independence, economic as well as political, provided the rationale for the early American textile mills. The overwhelming preponderance of notices for new mills alluded to a patriotic motif, sometimes also including the praiseworthy desire to provide "honest employment for the industrious poor." America was a rural country, with something of the peasant's suspicion of towns and a working-class proletariat. Jefferson's comment, "I consider the class of artificers as the panders of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned," illustrated the feeling. Early manufacturers had to overcome this spirit and, consciously or not, they attempted to do so by casting their enterprise in noble terms.

Motivation for the establishment of American textile mills coincided with technological advance. Several English inventions in the period before the Revolutionary War—Kay's flying shuttle for weaving, Arkwright's and Hargreaves' spinning machines and the carding machine—had made possible vastly increased production. By the end of the war, knowledge of the improved machinery spread to America, coinciding with the temper of independence. A woolen mill was established in Hartford, Connecticut in 1788, a cotton mill in Beverly, Massachusetts in 1787, and other early factories were built in Newbury, Massachusetts, in Wilmington, Delaware, in North Andover, Massachusetts, and in towns throughout New England and south to Maryland.

All of the early factories established in the period between the War for Independence and the War of 1812 experienced common problems. Without exception they suffered from competition with imported goods, limited working capital, and lack of experience. Many were simply the old fulling mill, with new machinery added for carding and spinning, mostly small enterprises, adding to their business with local custom work. The industry was beginning to change, but there were still elements of older methods. Until 1815 or 1820, the early mills continued to be local in spirit, bucolic in setting, and casual in attitude. The situation is best described by an 1802 advertisement in the Pittsfield, Massachusetts *Sun*, wherein Arthur Scholfield advertised the services of his wool carding mill, and added the note:[3]

At the same place is carried on by different firms,—Dyeing of wool of various colours; Pressing of Cloth;—Making of chairs of different kinds;—Cut and

[3] Bagnall, 260.

Wrought Nails;—Marble Monuments; Rumford Fireplaces and Common Stones for Building;—Hulling and Pearling of Barley; etc., etc.

The diffuse nature of manufacturing activity carried on at Scholfield's mill fitted into a scene where many people still wore homespun. However, enthusiasm for more highly developed practices was strong. It was reported of Providence, Rhode Island: "There was never such a spirit of Industry and Zeal, to promote Manufactures in this Town and vicinity, as at present prevail."[4] The writer had reference to wool and cotton manufacturing and was especially interested in the application of new machines to the various processes.

The War of 1812 provided a major impetus to factory development. The demand for cloth occasioned by the nonimportation of foreign fabrics, gave to American mills a market of proportions never before enjoyed. Mills by the hundreds were built to supply that demand. Optimism ran high among manufacturers and they expressed their feelings in advertisements for employees:[5]

Wanted, Immediately, several apprentices from twelve to seventeen years of age, to the woollen manufacturing business. From the high wages paid to manufacturers, parents will only be consulting the interest of their children, by placing them in a situation to acquire a knowledge of this important branch of our own growing manufactures, and as the manufactory now establishing will be upon the most new and improved principles, apprentices will have an opportunity offered them to become masters of this useful art.

The palmy days of 1812 did not last long and in the immediate post-war period, the country was flooded with English and Continental fabrics and many mills were forced out of business. Partial recovery was achieved by 1820, but those mills that remained were hard-bitten veterans and in their attitude reflected little of the casual early days.

For those mills which survived, brilliant prospects were opened as the nation exploded westward. In expanding to capture the riches offered to the west, manufacturing activity exhibited that curious turnabout which seems to characterize business pursuits. The strong who remained from the last struggle profited, and their successes once more lured investment back to the factory. Profits of twenty to forty per cent were reported as manufacturers developed an increasingly efficient industrial machine.

This new start—beginning around 1830—was the end of transition

[4] Bagnall, 150.

[5] *American Watchman* (Wilmington, Delaware), 12 August 1812.

for the textile industry. The local woolen mill of 1810, which represented the beginnings of movement out of the home was, by 1830, largely replaced by a factory in which all processes were performed under a single roof by what would later be known as an industrial proletariat. Manufacturing was carried forward with an experienced shrewdness which easily matched earlier ardor. There were vast new markets; population seemed almost magically to double every twenty years; turnpikes, canals, packet ships, railroads and new telegraph lines not only opened up a populous western area to transportation and communication, but forever removed the factory from the simple comforts of local operation. Sales and distribution became a nationwide venture and to plunder this vast treasure became the consuming ambition of single-minded men. It was no place for the weak or faint of heart.

The early woolen factory was often managed by an owner-operator who frequently provided housing for his employees, board and room for single males, and operated a company store. The paternalism of the early factory system occasionally even encompassed moral supervision as well, especially in the case of female employees. However, in the period following 1830, ownership tended to become absentee and management was left in the hands of overseers.

Labor and laboring conditions reflect as well as any other aspect of manufacturing some of the results in the shift from household operation to total industrialization. When the independent craftsman sold his product, he retained his person, but when he sold his labor, he sold himself. Once-proud craftsmen resented the change and bitterly complained, "The capitalists have taken to bossing all the mechanical trades, while the practical mechanic has become a journeyman, subject to be discharged at every pretended 'miff' of his purse-proud employer."[6]

In an earlier day, mill hands were often as not part-time farmers, or had some other craft, and a temporary layoff had a certain holiday air. That system was replaced by a fourteen-hour day, beginning at half-past four in the morning. "A clerk placed as a watch, observes those who are a few minutes behind the time, and effectual means are taken to stimulate punctuality."[7]

The time was past when manufacturers described their activities in high moral tones. The spirit of patriotic self-sufficiency was exchanged for a

[6] Norman Ware, *The Industrial Worker, 1840–1860* (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1959), xiv.

[7] Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise* (New York, 1961), 21.

profit motive and the change is exquisitely illustrated in an 1843 notice to employees:[8]

> Notice. Those employed at these mills and works will take notice that a store is kept for their accommodation, where they can purchase the best goods at fair prices, and it is expected that all will draw their goods from said store. Those who do not are informed that there are plenty of others who would be glad to take their places at less wages.

If the year 1810 is called the starting point for factory development, then the transition to full industrialization was completed in less than a single generation. In about twenty-five years, the most widely practiced household industry in our history—the manufacture of textiles—was dramatically replaced by a factory system. In the process, as Professor Clark noted, "Not only did the household lose a traditional employment, but simultaneously industry—for the first time in our history—began to disintegrate the family."[9] An occupation once as warm and comfortable as the family hearth became an industrial discipline, increasingly devoid of sentiment or personal concern.

But the first half of the nineteenth century was a period dramatic for many reasons. The development of the textile industry foreshadowed change in many other lines of manufacturing. It is a complex period of history and does not easily lend itself to quick damnation for the harshness of the industrial discipline or romantic praise for the accomplishments of the factory system.

Immigrant labor in New England's textile mills effectively lowered the wage scale and the laborer's standard of living. The necessities of competition produced exactly the same conditions in the whaling industry during the same period of time. Ocean commerce, until 1818, depended on a full cargo and passenger list, as well as favorable wind and tide. Once regular packet sailings were instituted, however, the stern rigors of a timetable eliminated such relative luxury; ships of the sea and the men who sailed them came under the same kind of discipline as mill workers.

* * * * *

It is to this period, with all its complexity and dramatic change, that the new Merrimack Valley Textile Museum addresses itself. To study the subject in fine detail, the museum will focus its attention on the wool

[8] John R. Commons, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910), VII. 50–51.

[9] Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York, 1949), I. 529.

industry. To make its findings meaningful, the museum will present the history of the wool industry against the broad background of American history.

The museum will pursue these objectives by engaging in two major activities, the exhibition of historic objects and the maintenance of a library. The library will provide the means for detailed study, and it encompasses both an archives of business records as well as a library of reference materials. In addition to the records of wool manufacturing firms, the archives will house records to document such related subjects as sales and distribution, raw material procurement and textile machinery manufacturing. The reference section includes books on the wool industry and related subjects, plus a wide variety of materials ranging from periodicals to dealer's catalogues, from maps to broadside advertisements.

The exhibits will portray the development of the wool industry in this country. Their central theme will be technological change and its impact on American society and culture. Major emphasis will be placed on the period during which the industry changed from household production to factory production, a time of revolutionary consequence for the wool industry. Succeeding years brought refinement, but after 1850, and for the next one hundred years, there was nothing as dramatic as the preceding half-century. The exhibits will capture some of that drama, what it meant to people then and what it means to people now.

These are the hopes of the Board of Trustees. Very much different from a red barn, the museum is an institution to house all the historical remains of the wool industry—be they books or machines—for the education and pleasure of those who would know more of our history.

March Meeting, 1962

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 15 March 1962, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in February were read and approved.

Mr. LAWRENCE W. TOWNER read a paper entitled:

The Indentures of Boston's Poor Apprentices: 1734-1805

EARLY in June 1756 Zachariah Fowle, Boston printer and bookseller, took as apprentice a seven-year-old boy, one of some 1,100 boys and girls bound out by Boston's Overseers of the Poor between 1734 and 1805.[1] In signing the indenture of apprenticeship, Fowle bound himself, his wife, and his heirs to feed, clothe, and shelter the boy until he reached the age of twenty-one years; to teach him to read, write, and cipher; and, having taught him the "Art and Mistery" of a printer, to release him with "two good Suits of Apparrell for all parts of his Body one for the Lords Days the other for working days Suitable to his Degree." In turn, the apprentice promised to obey Fowle's lawful commands, to keep his secrets, to absent himself only with his master's leave, to avoid fornication and matrimony, to shun taverns and alehouses, and to stay away from cards, dice, and other forms of gaming. He was, in short, to behave as a "good and faithfull Apprentice" ought to behave. The indentures were witnessed by eight Overseers of the Poor and, a month later, assented to by two of his majesty's justices of the peace.[2] The apprentice

[1] There were more indentures, but the rest have disappeared. At present there is only one between 1734 and 1739. Between 21 April 1756, and 1 November 1773, there were 483 children bound out, but only 390 indentures are extant. Thus, there may have been as many as 25 per cent more than the 1,100 apprentices, 1734–1805. But between 2 April 1785, and early January, 1790, the lists and indentures correspond exactly in numbers. Hence, all that can be said for sure is that there were at least 93 more children bound out than there are indentures for the whole period. Compare the indentures abstracted below with the fragmentary lists in "Admissions, 1760–74," Records of the Boston Overseers of the Poor, Massachusetts Historical Society. Hereafter cited as Overseers Records.

[2] The copy of Thomas's indenture abstracted below carries only the signatures of

was Isaiah Thomas, one of five children of the indigent and possibly widowed Mrs. Thomas. Isaiah's grandfather, Peter Thomas, had been a merchant in Boston and had held such minor civic posts as tithingman, constable, wharfinger, purchaser of grain, and assessor. Isaiah's father, however, had fallen on evil days and had abandoned his family, leaving his wife the responsibility of raising the children. Between the ages of two and six years, Isaiah had been cared for by a family in the country. Now, after a year and a half at home, he was being apprenticed.[3]

His indenture was saved, along with the others executed by the Overseers of the Poor, in what is the largest collection of indentures for any kind of bound servant in New England. From these indentures can be learned something about the ethnic background of Boston's poor in the eighteenth century, the kinds of trades that were open to poor children, the extent to which Boston supplied a colony- or state-wide labor market, and the kinds of persons who were willing to take poor boys and girls into their farms, homes, and shops. They provide information for the historian of education, of the family, of the poor, and of the bound labor system. They also provide a starting point for the student of specific trades in eighteenth-century Massachusetts as well as rich genealogical material for researchers in family history. They are reproduced in abstract form in the table, below.

Poor apprenticeship was but one of several forms of servitude in early Massachusetts. Although in the early decades of settlement, indentured servants and apprentices had been most typical, after the 1650's other kinds became important. Debtors, criminals, poor apprentices, and slaves were added to the servant categories, so that by the eighteenth century there were more than a half-dozen types. The composition of the servant class changed also. In the early years most servants were born either in England or in America of English parents. With some serious exceptions, they fit in well with the Puritan community, some becoming landowners, church members, and freemen of the colony. Gradually at first, but with increasing swiftness, new religious, social, racial, and national groups were

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Fowle, two overseers, and two justices. Thomas's personal copy, now at the American Antiquarian Society, has the signatures of eight overseers and two justices.

[3] See Clifford K. Shipton, *Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Patriot, and Philanthropist, 1749–1831* (Rochester, 1948). For Peter Thomas's offices, see Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634–1775* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 124, 149, 156, 182. Mr. Marcus McCorison, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, kindly allowed me to consult the typescript of the recently located "Diary" of Isaiah Thomas, soon to be published. Thomas recorded that his grandfather had also been an Overseer of the Poor.

introduced. Irish and Scottish prisoners from the English civil wars came in the 1650's. Indians and Negroes became servants and slaves—Indians particularly following the Pequot War and King Philip's War, Negroes particularly after the restoration of the Stuarts and the penetration of the slave trade by the English. By the eighteenth century the servant class was a marvelously polyglot group. Irish in goodly numbers, and Scottish, Jersey, Guernsey, and continental whites were sold as indentured servants. Spanish and New England Indians were bought or hired as slaves and servants and the latter were used frequently in fishing and whaling in what had been Plymouth colony. Negroes from the West Indies and the Guinea Coast were sold regularly and came to be the largest single group of imported bound labor by the 1730's and 1740's.[4]

The growth of this complicated and diverse system of bound labor cannot be explained in terms of custom alone. Most of the types of servitude had been part of the English experience before the Winthrop fleet sailed for America,[5] but more than the transplanting of English institutions was involved. The general availability of land, the widespread opportunities for labor, the necessity of importing labor, all made bound labor an apparent necessity if men were to have help in building homes, clearing land, and engaging in crafts and commerce. Moreover, servitude, which was modeled on the family in Massachusetts, provided an effective means of socializing the young, the unregenerate, and the criminal. By means of a contract, which bound the worker to his employer, or, through outright ownership, the slave to his master, both the economic and the social needs of society could be met.[6]

The relationship between Puritans and their poor is an excellent example of this combination of a customary institution with their immediate economic and social needs as they understood them. The seventeenth-century Puritans had a highly developed social consciousness set within a religious framework. They believed that the welfare of the individual should be subordinated to the religious and secular needs of the community, and in turn, that the community had a responsibility for the individual's welfare. This sense of moral responsibility led them to a broad

[4] Lawrence W. Towner, "A Good Master Well Served, A Social History of Servitude in Massachusetts, 1620–1750," Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955, appendix J.

[5] Even in the case of slavery, the English were not without recent experience. English ships had dabbled in the slave trade, and Paul Baynes, who died in 1619, spoke familiarly of Blackmoor slaves. See his *An Entire Commentary Upon . . . Ephesians . . .* (London, 1643), 694.

[6] Towner, "A Good Master," Ch. I.

definition of poverty, one which went well beyond the mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence. While the truly poor were not considered morally dangerous merely because they were poor, their poverty might be a warning of God's displeasure at secret evil actions not yet discovered to the community. On the other hand, financially solvent violators of the Commandments were, under the Covenant Theology, already moral liabilities and might well be on the road to becoming economic liabilities as well. Both groups presented an open invitation to God to visit his wrath upon the entire community. The solution to this problem was to make sure, as Professor Edmund S. Morgan has demonstrated, that every individual was subordinated to proper family government.[7]

Consequently, it was not merely those in need of alms who were subject to having their children taken from them under what might be called legislation for the poor. Parents or masters who failed to raise their children or servants in a properly religious atmosphere, who neglected their instruction in reading, who failed to teach them the catechism, or who were not bringing them up to a secular calling were equally likely to lose their wards to some other master. Single individuals of whatever age were required by law to place themselves under good family government, and even a few married persons—those whose family government had failed —were placed under the jurisdiction of other families. The idle as well as the indigent; the loose liver as well as the lame, the halt, and the blind; the profligate as well as the poor orphan were trapped in the fine-meshed net of legislation for the poor.[8]

Ruben Guppy of Salem is a good example of how poverty of spirit was considered as dangerous as a thin purse. Guppy was in and out of court on charges at least fourteen times between 1641 and 1674. He got himself severely whipped in 1641 for abandoning his pregnant wife, and for theft, lying, swearing, and blasphemy. Among other things, he had said that the parings of his nails were as acceptable to God as were days of Thanksgiving. In 1644, having already been in court six times, he was fined for not paying his rent and for using a neighbor's fence for firewood. A year later he was again hailed into court for fence stealing. At the same court he accused his wife of "wanton dalliance" with a neighbor. Shortly

[7] Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* . . . (Boston, 1956), Chs. IV–V.

[8] For representative legislation, see *Records of the Governor and Company of . . . Massachusetts Bay* . . . , ed., Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, 5 vols. in 6 (Boston, 1853–1854), I (1633), 109, (1636), 186; II (1646), 180. Hereafter cited as *Mass. Recs.* See also *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts* . . . , ed. Max Farrand (Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 11).

thereafter the community ordered Guppy's two oldest children apprenticed. Guppy was subsequently in court in 1649 for defamation of character, in 1651 for more fence stealing, and again in 1657 for accusing a neighbor of buggery. Obviously Guppy fitted well into the Puritan's definition of a moral liability.[9]

It was in the late 1660's, the 1670's, and 1680's, however, when the pressure from England exacerbated the growing divisions within Massachusetts and when King Philip's War threatened the very existence of the colony, that the emphasis on family government as a means of social control reached its climax. In 1668, the Massachusetts government embarked on a vigorous campaign to enforce conformity. Printed instructions were sent to all towns repeating the laws relating to children, servants, and single adults living "dissolute lives" and requiring that their names be reported.[1] In Middlesex county alone, seven towns listed twenty-six persons living disorderly lives outside family government and three persons who needed watching.[2] In other counties, too, families and single individuals were carefully scrutinized for the next two decades. In 1672, for example, twelve families of Muddy River were warned to put out their children as "servants to serve by Indentures."[3] In 1680, the Hampshire County Court found Cornelius Merry of Northampton to be a "very vicious" person and his care over his little children to be such as he "Rather Learnes them Irreligion rather then any good Literature. . . ." It ordered the selectmen to apprentice his two children.[4] In the same year, Robert Lyman and his wife, also of Northampton, were found incapable of maintaining their family. When they appeared in court, "showing their earnestnes that their children should not be put out," the Court ruled "that what the said Parents Spoke, [was] more out of fond affection and sinful Indulgence than any Reason or Rule." The two youngest Lyman boys and one of the girls were subsequently apprenticed.[5]

[9] *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts*, ed. George Francis Dow, 8 vols. (Salem, 1911–1921), I-V, *passim*. For the particular instances cited see: I. 25, 68, 82–83, 158, 209; II. 60. For the order to bind out Guppy's children see the Essex Institute Historical *Collections*, IX (1869), 151.

[1] *Mass. Recs.*, IV. part ii, 395–396.

[2] File 49 (1668), Files of the Middlesex County Court (Middlesex County Court House, Cambridge, Mass.).

[3] Record Commissioners of the Town of Boston, *Reports*, 39 vols. (Boston, 1881–1909), VII. 67. Hereafter cited as *Boston Records*.

[4] Records of the Hampshire County Court, I (1680), 36, Hampshire County Court House, Northampton, Massachusetts.

[5] *Ibid.*

Adults also were subjected to family government following the 1660's. One Abigail Roberts, for example, was presented for dressing in clothing finer than her station in life warranted and for living outside of family government. However, several neighbors appeared in court and testified that she now lived in service and had reformed her dress.[6] A more serious charge, against a widow having a child three years after her husband's death, resulted in her being whipped ten stripes and ordered "into some good Family where shee may be under government."[7] Charges of idleness, drunkenness, "idle reports to amuse the people," playing cards and keeping bad company, stubborn and wicked notions, and the wearing of men's clothes by a girl, thus "seeming to confound the course of nature," all resulted in persons being placed under family jurisdiction.[8] In one case, that of an aged deacon and militia captain named James Johnson, "disorderly carriages" in his family resulted in an order to break up housekeeping and to "dispose of himselfe into some good orderly Family within one Fortnight. . . ."[9]

In 1679 the General Court summed up its conception of secular and spiritual poverty in its instructions for the newly created office of tithingman. These officials, to be chosen annually from among the "most prudent and discreet Inhabitants," were "diligently to inspect the manner of all disorderly persons, and whereby more private admonitions they will not be reclaimed, they are . . . to present their names [to the proper authorities] . . . who shall proceed against them as the Law directs, as also they are in like manner to present . . . all single persons that live from under Family Government, stubborne and disorderly Children and Servants, night-walkers, Typlers, Sabbath breakers, by night or by day, and such as absent themselves from the publick Worship of God on the Lords dayes, or whatever else course or practice of any person or persons whatsoever tending to debauchery, Irreligion, prophanness, and Atheisme amongst us, whether by omission of Family Government, nurture and religious dutyes and instruction of Children and Servants, or idle, profligate, uncivil or rude practices of any sort. . . ."[1]

[6] *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671–1680*, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, XXIX–XXX (1933); II (1676), 751. Hereafter cited as *Suffolk County Court.*

[7] *Ibid.*, I (1674), 442.

[8] *Ibid.*, I (1672), 184, (1673), 258; II (1677), 870–871; Records of the Middlesex County Court, III (1679), 290; case of Mary Henly, 1691/92, *ibid.*, vols. 1689–1699, n.p.

[9] *Suffolk County Court*, II (1675), 646–647.

[1] *Mass. Recs.*, v. 240–241. I have followed the wording of this law as reproduced in

The very intensity of this drive to emphasize family government was a measure of the changes that were taking place in society. Between 1660 and 1720, as Professor Perry Miller has shown, the religiously oriented, homogeneous community was becoming a secular, diverse, and commercial society.[2] As a result, the area of agreement on what was right and wrong was slowly narrowing, and the broad religious and moral concept of poverty was giving way to a definition based primarily on the lack of measurable wealth. At the same time, the society, growing richer and more complex, was turning gradually to institutions of brick and mortar as a means of caring for its criminals, its idle, and its poor. Increasingly, adults ended up at the house of correction, the workhouse, or the almshouse, and by and large, after 1692, only poor children, not poor or wayward adults, were subjected to family authority other than their own.[3]

Eighteenth-century legislation concerning the binding out of poor children, then, was more sharply based on economic considerations than in the seventeenth century, although it still allowed some leeway in defining exactly who were the poor. The basic law came in 1692. By its terms the selectmen or Overseers of the Poor could bind out poor children with the consent of two justices of the peace, the boys to age twenty-one, the girls to age eighteen "or time of marriage." All children, or at least those "not having estates otherwise to maintain themselves," were subject to scrutiny to make sure they were being brought up to honest callings. No definition of poverty was provided, but presumably only those receiving alms were considered as falling within the jurisdiction of the law.[4]

The acts which followed were largely explanatory in nature and sought an effective definition of what constituted poverty. In the Act of 1704 the poor were defined as those who were not rated for town or province taxes. Such persons, whether receiving alms or not, were liable to having

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The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts . . . , ed. William H. Whitmore (Boston, 1887), 270.

[2] Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), *passim.*

[3] Criminals, particularly thieves, and a few poor debtors were exceptions. See Towner, "A Good Master," Ch. IV. In 1756 a law was enacted, for three years, allowing the overseers or selectmen of a town to bind out a poor adult for one year, his wages to be used to support his family. In 1759, a law was enacted for five years allowing the mother of a bastard child to be indentured for five years if her charges had been born by the town or if her child became a charge to the town before it was five years of age. Neither law was re-enacted. *Acts and Resolves . . . of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* . . . , 21 vols. (Boston, 1869–1922), III. 926–928; IV. 178–179. Hereafter cited as *Acts and Resolves.*

[4] *Acts and Resolves*, I. 67.

their children bound out by the authorities. This act also required that apprentices be taught to read and write, a provision subsequently restricted to males in 1711, the girls to be taught reading only. While being rated for taxes would protect one from losing his children under ordinary circumstances, a law in 1722 made idle, dissolute, or vagrant parents, whether rated for taxes or not, subject to having their children "put out into orderly families."[5]

The climax to this legislation came in 1735 in the form of a special act for Boston, where the numbers of the poor had been increasing alarmingly. Since the 1690's local taxes had been raised regularly "for relieving the poor and other charges"; three private charitable societies now existed; and at least one minister saw the danger of a growing class of idle poor. In 1742, out of a population of 17,756, there were 110 persons in the almshouse and 36 in the workhouse. Of 1,200 widows, 1,000 were not rated for taxes.[6] Under these circumstances, the legislature, by the Act of 1735, allowed Boston to appoint twelve Overseers of the Poor, one for each ward. These men were to supervise the poor, to commit persons to a workhouse, which by the act they were empowered to erect, and to enforce the laws with regard to apprenticing the children of the poor. Unless a parent were rated for personal estate or faculty (i.e. a trade or profession), he was subject to having his children bound out. Furthermore, children who, at the age of six years, did not know the alphabet, were to be bound out "as when parents are indigent and rated nothing to the publick taxes. . . ."[7] This latter provision notwithstanding, there is little or no evidence to indicate that any criterion other than poverty was actually used. Isaiah Thomas and the other poor children bound out between 1734 and 1805 seem to have been truly children of the poor.

The numbers of boys and girls apprenticed under the Act of 1735 and

[5] *Ibid.*, I. 538–539, 654–655; II. 242. These acts were usually temporary, renewed from time to time, but not always soon enough to avoid lapsing.

[6] *Boston Records*, VIII. *passim*; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness* . . . (New York, 1938), 393–394; Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1873–), VI. 448. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd Ser., I (1825), 152.

[7] *Acts and Resolves*, II. 756–758. Except for a law in 1771, which required that boys be taught reading, writing, and ciphering, no significant change was made in this law during the colonial period. In 1778 and 1794 the state of Massachusetts empowered all towns to appoint overseers of the poor and the overseers to bind out the children of the poor as apprentices or servants. The educational provisions were the same as revised in 1771. Parents who were assessed town or district taxes were not liable to having their children bound. *Ibid.*, V. 161–162; *The General Laws of Massachusetts from the Adoption of the Constitution to February, 1822*, ed., Theron Metcalf, 2 vols. (Boston, 1823), I. 438–449.

other laws modeled on it varied from year to year. The high year was 1768 with forty-six apprentices, the low, 1776, with but one. The average number per year was seventeen. The peak decades were between 1760 and 1780 when, for all but five years, more than the average number of apprentices were bound out. The decades of war and revolution, obviously, created serious social problems. By contrast, in the decades between 1780 and 1805 there were only three above-average years. The ratio of boys to girls remained fairly steady at three to two throughout the period.[8]

The duration of the contracts varied, of course, with the age and sex of the individual apprentice. About one-half of the children were bound out between the ages of five and nine. The median age was nine. Some, like Edward Holin who was apprenticed in 1745 at the age of eighteen months to serve Robert Anderson, housewright of Chester, New Hampshire, were very young and served long terms. But only thirty-seven apprentices, 3 per cent of the total, were placed out under the age of five. At the other end of the scale, a few served for very short terms. Bathsheba Rogers, for example, was apprenticed at the age of seventeen for one year to James Mason, a farmer in Bristol County, in 1742. However, only 1.7 per cent served for less than three years, and less than 25 per cent served terms of less than seven years.

Boys were apprenticed to sixty different trades, ranging from apothecary to victualler, from bricklayer to goldsmith. The maritime trades (sailors, navigators, and shoremen), the shipbuilding trades (mastmakers, ship carpenters, ropemakers, sail makers, shipwrights, and sparmakers), and the leather trades (cordwainers, saddlers, leather dressers, tanners, and leather drapers) each accounted for about 8 per cent of the boys. Coopers absorbed 5 per cent, and tailors about 3 per cent. House trades and metal trades each took about 4 per cent. There was little observable fluctuation in demand for apprentices in the various crafts, except in the 1760's. Then, coopers, shipbuilding trades, and maritime trades—all related fields—more than doubled their demand following the French and Indian War when the seas were again safe for Massachusetts shipping.

About 40 per cent of the boys were not apprenticed to crafts but were put out to learn husbandry. Prior to the 1770's, agriculture, although it was the leading field to which poor boys were apprenticed, drew fewer apprentices than did the crafts, and it actually declined to about 5 per cent of the total in the 1760's. But in the 1770's and thereafter, agriculture once again became the leading field and, in fact, took more poor boys than

[8] This and the following paragraphs concerning the poor apprentices are based on the the table of indentures below.

all the crafts put together—60 per cent of the boys in the 1770's and 1780's, 55 per cent in the 1790's, and 86 per cent in the first six years of the nineteenth century.

Girls were apprenticed chiefly to serve as household maids. During the 1740's and 1750's, most of their indentures specified the trade of a spinster, but about a third of them were simply apprenticed to learn housewifery, and even the spinsters probably spent most of their time doing household work. In the 1760's the term, "spinster," was dropped and "housewifery" took its place. From 1770 to the end of the century, knitting, sewing, and spinning were usually added to housewifery. Only two girls were taught another trade, that of manteau or mantua maker.[9]

The demand for poor apprentices, particularly in farming but also in housewifery, drew many boys and girls out of Boston. In the 1740's about 67 per cent of the children were sent out of town. By the 1780's this had increased to 89 per cent, only to drop back to 82 per cent in the 1790's. In the first six years of the nineteenth century more than 90 per cent left Boston. All told, Boston sent away about 74 per cent of its poor apprentices—all but 126 girls and 162 boys. These country apprentices were distributed throughout Massachusetts in twelve counties and in the present state of Maine, and a few went to New Hampshire and Connecticut. About 70 per cent of all apprentices, however, were absorbed by the two eastern counties of Suffolk and Middlesex and the two western counties of Hampshire and Worcester.

The masters who took these poor children as apprentices were as varied in trade and occupation as the arts or mysteries the boys and girls were supposed to learn. There were sixty-four crafts, trades, and occupations, and three professions represented among the masters. Mariners and cordwainers took more apprentices than any other craftsmen or tradesmen, but yeomen, husbandmen, and farmers, all of whom were presumably engaged in agriculture, took more than any other occupation. Several masters, it should be noted, agreed to teach, or have taught, trades with which they were not familiar, or which they were themselves apparently not practicing.

Considerable variation in social rank existed among the masters. At the top of the scale were persons of some social prominence in their own communities. They included such Boston worthies as the Reverend Andrew Eliot; Josiah Warren, Gent.; Nathaniel Loring, merchant; the Reverend Oxenbridge Thatcher; and Samuel Otis, merchant. There were also such persons of standing as the Reverend John Hancock of Braintree; Robert

[9] See Ann Cromartie (1769) and Ann Wilkinson (1784), below.

Treat Paine, Esq., of Taunton; John Oliver of Malden; Daniel Oliver and Levi Lincoln of Worcester; James Warren, Esq., of Plymouth; and John Langdon of New Hampshire. More than 125 masters claimed honorifics; and there were seventeen merchants, seventeen physicians, twelve ministers, two schoolmasters, and thirty or more men of officer rank in the military among the masters.

The indentures, in fact, suggest a good bit about the existence of social classes in eighteenth-century Massachusetts. From the regularity with which honorifics were entered with the names of the Overseers, for example, it can be assumed that men took their "Hon.," "Gent.," and "Esq." quite seriously.[1] The masters, too, were careful about their social ranking or occupational designations, although they were less so after the start of the Revolution. In the case of those engaged in agriculture, the exact social weight of the terms "Yeoman," "Husbandman," and "farmer" is not clear. Yet their weights relative to each other seem clear enough. "Yeoman" still retained its concept of social worth, while "Husbandman," used far less frequently, and "farmer," used hardly at all, seem to have been of lower rank. After 1777, however, "Yeoman" and "Husbandman" drop out of use, occupational designations even in the trades are recorded only infrequently, and "Mr." comes into general but not universal use.

If honorifics and occupational designations were of social significance, then the bulk of the masters were drawn from the middling and upper strata of the various towns—successful craftsmen and tradesmen, securely established farmers, and a sprinkling of local leaders. Only occasionally, if at all, was a master drawn from among those who were of doubtful financial responsibility or questionable social respectability. The screening of potential masters was, as we shall see, the purpose behind a requirement that they be recommended to the Overseers by the officials who knew them best, the selectmen in the towns where they lived.

Many masters, particularly those in the smaller towns, took two apprentices, usually one to learn husbandry, the other housewifery. Paul Mandell, Gent., of Hardwick, took ten between 1760 and 1778, usually two at a time. The most he had at one time was eight. That was in February 1778 when he apprenticed William Dunn and Sarah Granger, ages seven and six years, respectively. With these two added to his household, he had a total of five girl apprentices, between the ages of six and sixteen, and three boys, between the ages of seven and sixteen. Mandell was the first person in Hardwick to take poor apprentices from Boston, but within

[1] In some cases, where they had been left off, they were inserted afterwards.

a dozen years of his first apprentice's arrival in town, eight other residents had taken boys or girls from the almshouse. His contentment with his Boston servants, as measured by his return trips to the almshouse, must have communicated itself to his neighbors.

Not a great deal more can be known about most of the apprentices other than what their indentures reveal. How they were chosen, who they were, the actual conditions of life with their masters, how well they learned their trades, how well they were educated, are all questions which for the most part cannot be answered with any assurance.

The Overseers regularly perambulated their wards looking for poor people who ought to be in the workhouse or in the almshouse and, presumably, checking up on the condition of dependent children.[2] Undoubtedly they apprenticed many children directly from their homes, but many others were taken from the almshouse. Some arrived there with one or both of their parents, some alone, and some were born there, often the illegitimate children of wayward girls.[3] Quite a few were apparently the children of recent immigrants. While most, 57 per cent, appear to have come from families of English ancestry, about 15 per cent were from families of Irish background, about the same percentage were Scots, 5 per cent Welsh, 4 per cent French, and the rest were German, Italian, and Negro.[4]

Once a child was in the almhouse, it was to the advantage of the Overseers to get him apprenticed quickly to avoid the cost of food, clothing, and housing. It was also to the advantage of the child to get out as quickly as possible. The almshouse, like other eighteenth-century public institutions was probably not an attractive place to be.

Cotton Mather wrote in the records of the Second Church for 4 April 1697, that one Abigail Day had complained bitterly about the food at the almshouse, saying that "she would thank neither God nor Man for such Victuals," and about the master of the house, who, she said, "had several

[2] See the Miscellaneous Files (by date) of the Overseers of the Poor, Department of Public Welfare, Boston, Massachusetts.

[3] "Admissions, 1768–1774," Overseers Records.

[4] This estimate is based on a random sampling of the names of four hundred apprentices checked against Elsdon C. Smith, *Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York, 1956). In 1790, it may be pointed out, Massachusetts' population was composed roughly of the following linguistic and national stocks: English, 82 per cent; Scotch, 4.4 per cent; Ulster Irish, 1.6 per cent; Irish, 1.3 per cent; German, .3 per cent; Dutch, .2 per cent; and French, .8 per cent. See "Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," American Historical Association, *Annual Report* for 1931 (Washington, D. C., 1932), I. 124.

Times made Attempts upon her Chastity." More than a century later the almshouse was still having difficulty. A committee, charged with constructing new vaults for the privies reported that they had had to construct new sewers. "The drain from the pump and kitchen," the report said, "being originally turned through the privies, opened a direct communication into the body of the house for the foul air, not only of the drain but that air was surcharged with the fetidity of the vaults, so that on the rising of the tide, especially when accompanied with an east wind, the stench was not only diffused through the yard, but entered thro' the sink into . . . the body of the house."[5]

Whether or not these pictures indicate the true nature of the food, the morals, and the smells of the almshouse, they suggest that getting out was a good thing. The chance came when a prospective master applied for an apprentice. If he lived in Boston, he needed no written recommendation, for presumably he was known to the Overseers of the Poor. But if he was from out of town, he had to have a letter of recommendation from the majority of his selectmen. By 1758 these recommendations had been printed with blanks for names and dates. According to the printed formula, the master was to be "a Man of sober Life and Conversation; and in such Circumstances [that the selectman could] recommend him as a fit Person to bind an Apprentice to."[6]

If the master found a child to his liking, he might take him home on trial before signing the indentures. The selectmen of Rehoboth, for example, wrote the Overseers on 8 November 1776, about one Elizabeth Barber, a poor girl of Boston who had been living with James Thurber, Esq., for some time. "As she proves to be an Industrious likely girl and is Very desireous to Tarry with the family and they well affected towards her," she would be happily situated if she could be bound out to Thurber. On 9 December 1776, the Overseers signed her indentures, binding her for four years.[7] Other children were not so fortunate as to like and be liked. Esther Burgean, ten years old in 1773, was one of these. Her master, David Durfee of Dartmouth, had apparently not completed the process of apprenticing her two years earlier when indentures had been drawn

[5] *The Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1724*, ed., Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 7th Ser., VII–VIII (Boston, 1911–1912), I. 226 *n.* Report of Committee of Repairs, 25 September 1819, "Register of Letters, etc., 1817–1834," 2, Overseers Records.

[6] Completed copies of this form are scattered throughout the volumes in which the indentures, below, are bound. Boston Indentures, 1734–1805, 6 vols., City Clerk's office, City Hall, Boston.

[7] *Ibid.*, IV. 143.

binding Esther to him for ten years. On 27 November 1773, he sent her back to Boston with a letter saying that he found her "not to Answer my expectations in any respect she being of so Dull and Stupid Capacity as not to be capable of doing any Service of account, nor to be Learnt to any Tolerable degree either to Work or Read as hath been declared by her Tutors. . . ."[8]

Once a child was bound, he was not ordinarily cause for further concern on the part of the Overseers until the time came to exchange indentures at the end of his term of service. Only occasionally did the Overseers have to bind out an apprentice anew or make some other arrangement for him. So far as the records reveal, for example, only one apprentice was freed to enlist in military service, although there were probably others whose masters did not bother to let the Overseers know.[9] Even the death of the master did not ordinarily require that the apprentice be bound out again, for the indentures almost invariably specified that the servant was being bound to the master, his wife, and his heirs. In fact, since the contract bound both parties, the one to service, the other to provide keep and training, the master's estate was liable for fulfillment of the terms. A letter of 3 November 1789, from Samuel Cutler, administrator of the estate of one William Atkins, Esq., of Newburyport, shows the problems that could arise because of these conditions. He reported that Peggy Kilgore, bound out on 8 June 1782, for eleven years, was ill, and the heirs wanted to return her to the almshouse. "I can assure you, Gentlemen," Cutler wrote, "that it will be a great hardship upon the Heirs to maintain her, the Estate being but small and three unmarried Daughters to be maintained by it. I do not conceive by the Indentures that the Estate is obliged to maintain her after she is rendered incapable, by sickness, to perform what she was bound to do. Should I be mistaken We rely on your Charity and generosity to grant this our petition."[1]

Other children, for reasons mostly unknown, were turned over to different masters before their terms were up, but that too was a rare occasion. In 1770, for example, one Thomas Banks, after nine years with William Williams, Gent., of Hatfield, was apprenticed to a cordwainer named Belding of that town to learn his trade. Apparently all parties, the masters, the servant, and the Overseers were satisfied with the change. Most relieved, was Williams, who had written the Overseers about his unhappy experiences with Banks. "For the first four years," he said, "I schooled

[8] *Ibid.*, IV. 63.

[9] John Ruggles to Overseers, n.d., *ibid.*, IV. 103.

[1] *Ibid.*, V. 22.

him constantly at the Town school here, and a considerable part of every year since, except of last. He is now seventeen years . . . old and about as big as an ordinary Country boy of thirteen . . . and . . . scarcely able to perform the service of one of our boys of that age—I have been sensible some time that it would by no means answer to bring him up to husbandry. He will never be capable to perform the Labour or to endure the fatigues that are the unavoidable lot of the husbandman—I therefore attempted more than a year ago to get him a Trade, but the notion which then generally (and with too much foundation in truth) prevailed of his being a Rogue in grain prevented the success of these attempts at that Time—"[2]

Information is even more lacking on what happened to the apprentices after they completed their service than it is on their condition while servants. What happened to them? Were they incorporated into the society, or were they likely to become dependent again? In short, how successful was the system as far as the apprentices themselves were concerned? This is an extremely difficult question, one susceptible of definitive answer only if a representative sample of the apprentices could be followed throughout their lives.

What can be done at this point, however, is to lay out the extremes of success and failure and hazard a guess as to what happened to those in between. Isaiah Thomas is the success story. Although he ran away from Fowle at the age of eighteen, he returned to Boston in 1770 and rejoined his former master, this time as a partner in publishing the *Massachusetts Spy*. In 1771, he took an apprentice, another poor boy put out by the Overseers of the Poor. The rest of his story is well known.[3]

At the other extreme was Mary Butcher. Mary became an apprentice of Richard Storkney, yeoman of Staughton, in 1754 when she was but an infant. For fifty years thereafter she left no record; but in 1804 she turned up in Canton, poor, unmarried, and lame. The Overseers there, after keeping her fed and housed awhile, wrote to the Overseers in Boston. "She is," they said, "a person whom nature has not been over bountiful in furnishing her mental faculties. . . ." Should they keep her there at Boston's charge, or send her home? On the back of this letter is an endorsement by a resigned Boston Overseer: "Ansd. 3 July and said, send her in."[4]

[2] William Williams to Royall Tyler, 23 January 1770, *ibid.*, IV. 15.

[3] The apprentice was Anthony Haswell (1771), below. For Thomas, see note 3 on page 418 above.

[4] Overseers of the Poor of Canton, Massachusetts, to Overseers of Boston, 25 June 1805, "Papers, 1733–1854," Overseers Records.

Between these two extremes fell the mass of the apprentices. All had learned to read and write, or, at least, were promised reading and writing, and all males were promised ciphering as well.[5] All were exposed to the skills or the routine tasks whereby they could earn their livings as artisans, farmers, or housewives. Their formal and practical training was the equivalent of that of the average maid of eighteen or youth of twenty-one in eighteenth-century Massachusetts. They were prepared to enter life, not as wards of society, but as individuals whose economic lives and social statuses would be determined in part by their own efforts. Yet, unlike other young adults, they did not have families standing behind them prepared to provide assistance in getting a start in life. Their freedom dues, which might have served that purpose, were usually limited to two suits of clothing. Except in a very few instances, indentures did not specify a gift of tools or other tangible assets. Only in the case of boys apprenticed to farming, beginning in the 1760's, did indentures specify a cash payment as part of the freedom dues. At first this payment amounted to £13:06:08. In the 1770's, 1780's, and early 1790's it was £20, and thereafter it amounted to about $70.

To the males given training in a craft, the future must have seemed fairly bright. Craftsmen of all kinds were generally in short supply in eighteenth-century America, and the skilled worker of industrious habits and a little luck could easily find work as a journeyman in the cities, towns, and villages.[6] There were, for example, more than 140 different trades being practiced in Boston in the 1790's.[7] On the other hand, the chances of being apprenticed to a trade instead of to husbandry were considerably less by the 1780's and 1790's than they had been in the middle of the century. Moreover, without freedom dues in cash or tools, a good many years of service as a journeyman probably awaited the poor apprentice when he was freed. Out of seventy boys apprenticed to tradesmen in Boston between 1760 and 1790, for example, only three are listed as masters of their own trades in the Boston Directory for 1796. They are Joseph Lilly, apprenticed in 1771 and working as a tailor on Middle Street; William Pierce, apprenticed in 1761 and working as a hairdresser with a shop on Marshall's Lane and a house on Union Street; and

[5] Isaiah Thomas claimed that his master did not instruct him in reading or writing. In fact, he claimed that Fowle was unable to spell or punctuate. See Thomas's "Diary," American Antiquarian Society. Between 1786 and 1792, most girl apprentices were to be taught reading, writing, *and* ciphering.

[6] Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York and London, 1950), 135–137.

[7] "The Boston Directory . . . ," (1796), *Boston Records*, X. 221–296.

James McCleary, apprenticed in 1771 and working as a tobacconist with a shop at number 8 Butler's Row and a house on Windmill Walk.[8] The others had either left Boston for other towns or were still working as journeymen or laborers.

The same pattern probably existed among the boys apprenticed to husbandry. With luck, a boy might marry the farmer's daughter and be set up by the family on new land or inherit the house and land of the family into which he had married. But without luck, he probably had to serve for years as a hired hand before he would be in a position to farm for himself. The freedom dues in cash, about the equivalent of a half-year's wages, would hardly sustain a man as a farmer if he were starting from scratch. Without a family behind him to ease the burden of the first years, a man starting farming even in those relatively simple times probably required more capital than he had at his disposal.[9]

As for the girls, there was no likelihood or expectation that they would become independent. Their choices were limited to continuing as paid household servants or getting married. In this they differed little from their sisters who were fortunate enough to have families to sustain them. Their choice of husbands was limited, however, by the fact that they had no dowries to bring to their marriages and no one but their masters to seek marriage matches for them.

At its worst, poor apprenticeship was only a temporary condition, not a permanent status. It provided a means not only of reintegrating the poor into society as useful working members but also of reducing the cost of supporting public institutions. In a day when manufacturing was largely in the hands of craftsmen, when most people worked on farms, when women had few opportunities anyway, and when education beyond primary school level was the province of the few, it was probably as workable a system as could be devised. What had begun in the seventeenth century as a means of insuring moral and religious conformity had ended up as a valuable and workable social institution. Unlike slavery, which died out in the 1780's and 1790's in Massachusetts, poor apprenticeship seemed to fit the needs of a free society.

[8] *Ibid.*, x. 263, 274, 267.

[9] Only one apprentice was assured land in his indentures. Francis Dizer (7/22/66), who was apprenticed to both husbandry and surveying, was promised twenty acres of unimproved land and, if he behaved himself, a set of surveying instruments. Two boys were promised cattle: Richard Caswell (8/3/48), a yoke of oxen or £40 O.T.; and Barzallai Eddy (10/10/98), two three-year-old oxen and a heifer of the same age.

The table of indentures of poor apprentices which follows is based on the original printed forms bound in six volumes located in the City Clerk's office, City Hall, Boston, Massachusetts. Several years ago Dr. Stephen T. Riley of the Massachusetts Historical Society told me about them. Subsequently they were microfilmed for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. The indentures through 1776 were transcribed in tabular form by Mr. W. Graham Millar, who kindly gave me a copy of his tables.[1] Those from 1777 on were transcribed by Mrs. Beverley Schell, secretary at the Institute, largely on her own time and as a labor of love for history. I have subsequently proofread the new table, here presented, against the originals.

The table below is an abstract and does not carry all the information available on the indentures. Conspicuously absent are the freedom dues, discussed above. There is such a regularity in these dues that it does not seem worthwhile to take the space to list them. Variations in formal educational requirements have also been discussed in the text, and they are omitted in the table except for an occasional footnote. No column has been provided for the masters' occupations, but a careful reader will find those occupations if he understands that from 1734 to 1779, the period when occupations were almost always listed, the master's occupation was the same as that being taught unless otherwise indicated by footnote. From 1780 to 1805, when occupations for masters were rarely given, every master whose occupation is on the indenture has his occupation listed by footnote. Finally, to conserve space I have abbreviated trades in the table by leaving out vowels. Except in such cases as prk mkr (peruke maker) and mntu mkr (manteau maker), this should cause no serious difficulty.

[1] W. Graham Millar, "The Poor Apprentices of Boston; Indentures of Poor Children Bound Out by the Overseers of the Poor of Boston, 1734–1776 . . . ," M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1958.

Stephen Cortly	11/27/34	4/30/49	shmkr	Israel Nichols, Gent.	Freetown
John Dean	4/2/40	3/6/46	hsbndry	Joseph Williams	Roxbury
Benjamin Dolbeare	5/7/40	8/6/55	hsbndry	Nathaniel Blagget	Woburn
Mary Dalley	7/2/40	2/12/45	hswfry	Thomas Frothingham	Charlestown
Sarah Gould	7/2/40	9/12/46	hswfry	Timothy Tilston[1]	Dorchester
Mary Anne LePierre	8/6/40	8/6/48	hswfry	Abill Walley[2]	Boston
James Flood	11/5/40	1/1/48	hsbndry	Jonathan Hayward[4]	Woburn
Jonathan Stokes	11/5/40	5/1/53	hswrght	Benjamin Kendall	Sherburn
Samuel Waters	12/3/40	9/20/56	hsbndry	Jonathan Clarke[4]	Braintree
Barnabas Rhodes	1/13/41	3/25/56	hsbndry	Joseph Rice, Yeo.	Marlborough
Robert Anger	2/?/41	2/1/58	hsbndry	Ebenezer Cutler	Weston
Eleanor Green	2/12/41	7/5/53	hswfry	John Beaudri[3]	Boston
Moses Barnes	4/7/41	7/1/54	crdwnr	Isaac Saunderson	Watertown
Mary Sossen	5/6/41	4/10/48	hswfry	Ebenezer Sumner[4]	Milton
Ellenor Burke	5/6/41	4/1/45	hswfry	Thomas Hartley	Boston
Olive Sturges	5/6/41	5/1/45	hswfry	James Stetson	Hingham
Samuel Star	6/3/41	6/1/52	tailor	Henry Price	Boston
Mary Peck	9/2/41	5/6/53	hswfry	Cornelius Briggs[4]	Scituate
Elizabeth Hayes	10/7/41	3/5/55	hswfry	Sweeton Reed[4]	Woburn
William Negers	10/7/41	5/9/55	weaver	Jonathan Bass, Yeo.	Bridgewater
Elizabeth Mathews	10/7/41	11/8/56	hswfry	Jonathan Bass, Yeo.	Bridgewater
Rachel Lawson	9/2/41	5/6/53	hswfry	Thomas Edsar, Yeo.	Hopkinton
Henry Phar	11/3/42	5/12/54	hsbndry	Samuel Donbar	Bridgewater
Frances Hamilton	?/?/42	3/1/47	hswfry	Benjamin Smith, Jr.[4]	Lexington
Peter Grace	2/2/42	7/15/58	hsbndry	Thomas Read, Yeo.	Woburn
Savage Perry	2/2/42	1/9/58	crdwnr	John Nichols	Reading
Experience Willis	3/2/42	2/1/48	hswfry	John Hunt, Jr., Gent., Yeo.	Boston
James Campbell	4/7/42	7/16/50	tailor	James Dodge	Boston
Mary Bass	4/7/42	12/15/53	hswfry	Isaac Woolson, Yeo.	Weston
Richard Hewes	5/14/42	6/6/58	hsbndry	Timothy Winn, Yeo.	Reading
Easter Smith	6/2/42	3/31/54	hswfry	John Harkness, Yeo.	Newton
Richard Whitcomb	6/2/42	12/1/55	blcksmith	John Lawrence	Woburn

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Elisabeth Barjere	7/14/42	10/1/45	hswfry	Hopestill Leeds, Yeo.	Dorchester
Bathsheba Rogers	11/3/42	3/12/44	hswfry	James Mason, Yeo.	Swansea
Thomas Capron	11/2/42	3/10/52	tailor	Seth Foster	Boston
Ebiah(?) Basom(?)	11/3/42	3/26/54	hswfry	Benjamin Wheeler[3]	Charlestown
John Ashne (?)	11/3/42	7/1/58		Solomon Loring[4]	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Sarah Cobbit	11/3/42	4/11/55	hswfry	William Hudson[4]	Oxford
Mary Dixon	12/1/42	2/2/51	hswfry	Abraham Belknap[2]	Boston
Elisabeth Scribner	12/1/42	2/13/49	hswfry	Rev. John Hancock	Braintree
Timothy Hales	12/1/42	3/8/55	hsbndry	Josiah Newell	Needham
Edward Oliver	12/1/42	7/1/45	vctllr[5]	John Oliver	Malden
Joseph Warick	1/4/43	11/15/47	hsbndry	Josiah Child, Yeo.	Roxbury
William Norton	1/4/43	8/27/48	shpwrght	Alexander Hunt	Boston
Benjamin Scrivener	1/5/43	6/15/51	crdwr	John Soren	Boston
John Slowly	2/29/43	12/13/51	barber	Richard Barrington	Boston
Samuel Wood	3/8/43	11/10/52	cbntmkr	Benjamin Salisbury	Boston
William Grace	3/8/43	8/19/53	currier	John Coles	Boston
George Miles	3/23/43	1/25/56	hsbndry	Gideon Bassett	Norton
John Gillings	4/6/43	5/1/55	hsbndry	Ebenezer Edmunds, Yeo.	Dudley
Edward Hunt	4/6/43	2/10/57	ropemkr	John Crosley	Boston
Alexander LeBlond	4/6/43	6/16/58	hsbndry	Ephraim Holmes, Yeo.	Middleboro
Elisabeth Peck	6/29/43	7/1/56	hswfry	Robert Keith[4]	Bridgewater
Ebenezer Pratt	6/29/43	4/15/59	hsbndry	Stephen Dean, Yeo.	Raynham
Robert Kneeland(?)	7/18/43	5/16/50	brcklyr	John Blower	Boston
Lydia Robinson	8/3/43	7/21/52	hswfry	Seth Wright[4]	Medfield
John Ransted	8/3/43	4/21/47	blcksmth	John Bent	Milton
Bartholemew Ballard	9/7/43	5/6/55	shp jnr	Joseph Ballard	Boston
Samuel Hurst	9/7/43	5/3/51	tailor	Benjamin Renken	Boston
Richard Whitcomb	9/7/43	12/1/55	prk mkr[6]	James Kettell	Medford
John McGuire	9/7/43	2/1/55	blcksmth	John Lawrence	Woburn
Mary Herbert	9/7/43	11/15/47	hswfry	Jonathan Wayt, Jr.[4]	Lynn
Thomas W. Boulton	9/7/43	3/1/52	tailor	Benjamin Renken	Boston
William White	12/7/43	2/15/54	ppr mkr	Jeremiah White	Milton
Lewis Sharpe	2/6/44	12/21/48	nvgtn[7]	Andrew Breading	Boston
Timothy Bowen	2/6/44	4/15/61	hsbndry	Josiah Wheeler	Western
John Sack	4/8/44	8/15/51	Brcklyr	Daniel Bell, Jr.	Boston

John Cock	3/6/44	8/12/54	brcklyr	Daniel Bell, Jr.	Boston
Samuel Sumner	7/13/44	12/23/51	sailmkr	Alexander Chamberlain	Boston
Josiah Baker	8/1/44	7/15/60	weaver	Nicholas Shaw	Abington
Dorcas Ellis	8/1/44	9/27/52	hswfry	Hezekiah Blanchard[9]	Boston
Francis Nesbatt	8/1/44	10/15/54	mstmkr	Alexander Parkman	Boston
John Gilpin	9/5/44	10/13/51	ropemkr	John Crosley	Boston
Richard Russell	9/5/44	2/15/59	cooper	Joseph Procter	Weston
George Sanndery	10/3/44	3/10/48	hswrght	John Gilliver	Milton
Hannah Hiland	11/7/44	1/14/51	hswfry	Sylvanus Barrows	Middleborough
John Squire	11/7/44	9/4/61	spinner	Isaac Lealand[10]	Sherburn
Charles E. Packer	12/5/44	3/14/56	hsbndry	Edward Lutwycke	Hopkinton
Mercy Clay	12/5/44	9/9/58	hswfry	Samuel Ranger[11]	Wrentham
Susanna Holyman	1/14/45	12/16/54	spinster[12]	Ephraim Mallet	Charlestown
Benjamin Godwin	1/14/45	2/2/52	gldsmth	John Parkman	Boston
Edward Holins	2/6/45	9/7/64	hswrght	Robert Anderson	Chester, N. H.
Samuel Russell	2/10/45	1/5/49	blockmkr	Josiah Adams	Boston
Richard Bromingham	6/5/45	8/29/65	hsbndry	John Auston(?)	Easton
Jonathan Edmunds	7/25/45	2/15/57	potter	John Young	Watertown
Mary Kirkland	7/29/45	8/1/50	spinster	John Morey, Yeo.	Roxbury
Mary Carr	7/25/45	2/15/57	spinster	Ezra Morse, Yeo.	Dedham
John Salen	9/2/45	8/4/52	hswrght	Ephraim Wheeler	Boston
Samuel Bryant	9/3/45	9/15/61	hsbndry	William Wesson	Hopkinton
Edward Sanson	9/5/45	2/28/49	twn spnnr[10]	Thomas Smith	Boston
Jane Anderson	9/20/45	6/15/58	spinster[12]	Robert Boyce, Esq.	Londonderry, N. H.
John Holaman	12/16/45	12/30/59	potter	Samuel Hutchinson	Charlestown
Samuel Fairfield	1/26/46	11/1/58	hsbndry	Gad Lyman	Northampton
Hannah Sloaper	1/27/46	12/29/56	spinster	John Watson[13]	Leicester
Margret Mathews	1/13/46	9/13/61	spinster	Andrew Rutherford[4]	Kingsfield
John Bell	2/10/46	4/8/52	joiner	John Cunnabell	Boston
Mordecai Moor	2/23/46	2/?/62	hsbndry	Alexander Nichols, Yeo.	Oxford
Benjamin Scrivner	2/25/46	2/15/50	blockmkr	John Brewer	Boston
Martha Smith	2/25/46	3/3/56	spinster	John Melendy[14]	Boston
Jonathan Smallig	3/3/46	7/15/51	hsbndry	Joseph Mayo, Yeo.	Roxbury
Elisabeth Mills	3/4/46	12/8/55	spinster[12]	Samuel Webb	Braintree

TABLE OF INDENTURES—*continued*

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Thomas Capron	4/9/46	3/10/52	tailor	Thomas Marshall	Boston
Elisabeth Pearce	4/30/46	2/23/56	spinster	Joseph Mayo, Yeo.	Roxbury
John Green	5/16/46	6/25/52	tailor	John Barber	Boston
Mary Oliver	6/5/46	9/7/52	spinster[12]	Joseph Dean[3]	Dedham
Mary Sturges	7/1/46	10/5/51	spinster[12]	Jeremiah Dean, Gent.	Dedham
John Mills	7/1/46	12/10/60	weaver	Jonathan Hill	Medway
Benjamin Croutch	7/1/46	10/15/60	turner	John Caldwell	Rutland
Thomas Barnett	7/25/46	3/15/61	hswrght	Ephraim Perry	Sherburn
Mary Layton	7/28/46	3/15/50	spinster	Rev. Andrew Elliot, Jr.	Boston
Mary Still	8/4/46	9/12/49	spinster	John Fenno[15]	Boston
Edward Anderson	9/26/46	4/1/64	farmer	Thomas Little, Yeo.	Kingsfield
James Griffin	10/1/46	7/1/65	hsbndry	Benjamin Shelly	Raynham
Thomas Smith	10/21/46	1/15/63	farmer	Samuel Gamwell, Yeo.	Westborough
Ephraim Dean	10/28/46	7/28/59	farmer	Rev. Richard Salter	Mansfield, Conn.
Catherine Culberson	11/16/46	5/1/60	spinster	James Read, Yeo.	Londonderry, N. H.
Benjamin Rust	12/2/46	12/1/53	nvgtn[7]	John Bradford	Boston
Nathaniel Rust	12/2/46	12/1/54	nvgtn[7]	William Sherburne	Boston
Thomas Baxter	12/3/46	4/15/63	weaver	Joseph Taylery (?)	Worcester
John Cook	12/25/46	7/1/60	farmer	Thomas Little	Kingsfield
John Kelly	12/25/46	5/1/61	farmer	Rev. John Harvey	Kingsfield
Ellenor Scilly	12/25/46	5/1/61	spinster[12]	Thomas Little[4]	Kingsfield
Joseph Pateson	1/5/47	4/14/58	hswrght	James Barnard, Jr.	Boston
Benjamin Richardson	3/2/47	9/2/54	brcklyr	David Bell	Boston
Sarah Pain	3/2/47	3/2/53	spinster	Thomas Jackson, Jr.[9]	Boston
Joseph Ranstead	3/27/47	6/28/50	hsbndry	Joseph Warren, Gent.	Roxbury
Daniel Ross	5/2/47	2/15/59	hsbndry	John Allen, Yeo.	Medway
Mary McNamara	6/3/47	1/15/49	spinster	John Lovell, Gent.	Boston
Sarah Ray	6/12/47	6/12/59	spinster	Rev. James Morton	Litchfield, N. H.
James Treet	6/29/47	10/15/57	hswrght	Samuel Sheldon	Billerica
Robert Price	7/28/47	1/18/56	blcksmth	John Foster	Boston
Elisabeth White	8/31/47	8/6/56	spinster	Thomas Gleason, Yeo.	Oxford
Hannah Hubbard	8/31/47	6/15/60	spinster	Adam Beal[16]	Kingham
Susanne Sloper	8/31/47	2/15/58	spinster	Joseph Streeter, Yeo.	Oxford
Richard Haden	9/7/47	4/6/67	hsbndry	Thomas Wright, Yeo.	[illegible]
John Hadwell	11/4/47	5/15/59	ropemkr	John Crosley	Boston

John Hadwell	11/4/47	5/15/59	ropemkr	John Crosley	Boston
Samuel Culliner	11/14/47	12/1/54	brazier[17]	Thomas Russell	Boston
Jane Johnson	1/3/48	4/15/59	spinster	Joseph Langrel[18]	Lebanon, Conn.
Jeremiah Field	1/4/48	7/1/57	shp crpntr	Alexander Hunt	Boston
Annah Amos	1/10/48	6/4/53	spinster	Josiah Fisher, Gent.	Dedham
Thomas Lyley	1/26/48	9/29/49	hswrght	Moses Ayres	Boston
Susanna Fisk	3/1/48	3/1/54	spinster	John Lovell, Gent.	Boston
Francis Nesbatt	4/6/48	10/15/50	nvgtn[7]	Nicholas Cussens	Boston
Mary Sulevan	5/31/48	3/13/51	spinster	Michael More[19]	Salem
Abraham Ingraham	5/31/48	10/14/60	tailor	William Daws	Boston
Mary Stamerin	5/31/48	10/15/56	spinster	Joshua Brooks	Concord
Sarah Hariss	5/31/48	4/15/51	spinster	Ebenezer Keith, Yeo.	Bridgewater
Hannah Nichols	6/15/48	7/15/50	spinster	Spencer Bennett[2]	Newbury
Martha Bennett	7/7/48	12/18/60	spinster	Michael Bacon, Yeo.	Bedford
Richard Caswell	8/3/48	8/2/57	hsbndry	John Bell	Tewksbury
John Chambers	8/18/48	6/18/53	nvgtn[7]	Thomas Gunter[2]	Boston
Mary Ann Jones	9/5/48	7/2/63	spinster	Jeremiah Richards, Yeo.	Roxbury
Margreth Cacklin	9/15/48	4/15/53	spinster	David Gilmore, Yeo.	Stoughton
Ann Lane	9/16/48	12/25/55	spinster	John Traile[2]	Boston
Elizabeth Richard	10/4/48	10/1/58	spinster	Patrick McGregory, Yeo.	Rutland
Sarah Orn	10/5/48	4/12/54	spinster	Joseph Jackson[20]	Boston
Joseph Booker	10/25/48	4/2/58	joiner	Joseph Coit	Boston
Eliakam Perry	10/31/48	7/15/64	farmer	Jacob Lynd, Yeo.	Malden
Mary Brown	11/16/48	9/15/60	spinster	Phineas Lyman, Esq.	Suffield
William Woods	11/30/48	2/14/65	hsbandry	John Cristy, Yeo.	Wenham
Margret Gard	11/30/48	4/1/61	spinster	John Cristy, Yeo.	Wenham
Huldah Waters	12/30/48	3/13/54	spinster	Benjamin Jepson[21]	Boston
Lydia Perry	12/30/48	4/30/61	spinster	John Swan[8]	Lunenburg
John Slowly	2/6/49	12/31/51	barber	Benjamin Jepson	Boston
Hugh Brown	3/7/49	3/14/59	cbnt mkr	William Parkman	Boston
Isaac Luce	3/7/49	2/6/63	farmer	William Reed, Esq.	Lexington
Jeremiah Rhodes	4/14/49	10/31/51	hswrght	Samuel Sprague	Boston
John Bow	4/20/49	5/15/62	hsbndry	Joseph Beman, Yeo.	Leominster
Sarah Smith	4/29/49	4/15/61	spinster	Samuel Brackit[11]	Dedham

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
William Croxford	6/5/49	6/7/66	hsbndry	Daniel Chase, Yeo.	Sutten
Veronica Vantiber	7/31/49	7/15/55	spinster	Isaiah Barrett	Boston
John Bedson	8/1/49	4/4/57	cooper	Samuel Smalledge	Boston
Jeremiah Field	9/6/49	7/1/57	farmer	William Richardson, Gent.	Lancaster
Asa Soper	9/7/49	10/22/55	shopkpng	Thomas Paine[2]	Boston
Francis Orne (?)	9/16/49	3/6/67	hsbndry	Alexander Campbell	Boston
Miles Hubbard	10/2/49	9/10/61	chrmkr[22]	Samuel Ridgway, Jr.	Boston
Hannah Martin	12/28/49	4/15/62	spinster[23]	Isaac Bauldin[24]	Sudbury
Charles Richardson	12/28/49	5/31/65	hsbndry	Charles Snell	Bridgewater
Mary Hermon	5/2/50	5/1/63	spinster	Joseph Langret[18]	Lebanon, Conn.
Sarrah Wakefield	5/10/50	8/1/65	spinster	Henry Spring, Yeo.	Weston
Charles Whitewood	6/5/50	1/18/65	farmer	John Ryan, Yeo.	Sturbridge
Judith Simons	6/24/50	2/15/57	spinster	Moses Arnold[20]	Boston
Mary Hyland	7/3/50	10/20/56	spinster	John Liddell, Gent.	Boston
Elizabeth Timberle	8/13/50	7/22/61	spinster	Joshua Bramhall[25]	Plymouth
James McConnel	8/22/50	7/15/63	crdwnr	Joseph Fitch, Gent.	Boston
Farnell Chamberlane	9/26/50	8/21/67	farmer	Daniel Alger	Bridgewater
Susanna Vail	9/26/50	9/15/62	spinster	Thomas Gleason, Yeo.	Oxford
Elizabeth Stamers	9/26/50	3/15/62	spinster	James Packard, Yeo.	Bridgewater
John Badson	10/2/50	4/10/57	cooper	Benjamin Sault	Boston
Lidia Richardson	10/2/50	5/15/61	spinster	Jabez Fisher, Yeo.	Wrentham
Sarah Croutch	11/5/50	4/14/64	spinster	James Brown, Yeo.	Western
Ezekiel Clisby	11/5/50	4/15/65	hsbndry	Nathan Ames	Bridgewater
William Perry	12/3/50	9/18/59	prk mkr[6]	John Gyles	Boston
Mary Engerson	12/31/50	5/15/58	spinster	Thomas Bacon, Yeo.	Wrentham
William Roberts	4/30/51	4/30/58	gunsmth	Samuel Clough	Boston
Simeon Pery	4/30/51	5/15/66	cooper	Oliver Wyman	Leominster
William Alford	6/4/51	3/20/61	hsbndry	Thomas Dana	Cambridge
Joseph Frizell	6/26/51	5/2/70	hsbandry	Samuel Bacon, Yeo.	Needham
Nathaniel Howard	7/15/51	9/15/58	weaver	Benoni Hanks (?)	Northampton
Alexander Bahanny	8/1/51	3/15/65	farmer	Jonas Buckingham, Yeo.	Rutland
Hannah West	8/5/51	6/13/64	spinster	Israel Smith, Yeo.	Scituate
Mary Clisby	8/6/51	8/15/64	spinster	Nathaniel Harvey,[4] Yeo.	Bridgewater
Hepzibah Flood	8/17/51	4/15/60	spinster	Jonathan Townsend	Medford

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Northampton
James Lucas	10/3/51	10/3/62	crdwnr	Charles Hendley	Boston
Elizabeth Hunt	10/11/51	11/8/64	spinster	Ebenezer Littlefield, Yeo.	Holliston
Francis Neat	11/5/51	3/27/62	spinster	Thomas Hubbard, Esq.	Boston
Edward Varte	11/5/51	10/9/67	weaver	Theophilus Howard	Bridgewater
Hannah Snow	1/2/52	7/3/60	spinster	Joshuah Winter[26]	Boston
Elizabeth Bumstead	1/6/52	4/30/61	spinster	John Williams, Yeo.	Sommers
Joseph Bumstead	1/6/52	2/17/67	hsbndry	John Williams, Yeo.	Sommers
Thomas Brooks	1/21/52	10/1/64	crdwnr	James Wilson, Jr.	Leicester
James Smith	1/23/52	10/22/55		Israel Ashley[27]	Westfield
Ann Fosdike	1/23/52	6/6/60	spinster	Israel Ashley[27]	Westfield
Mary Booyd	1/29/52	6/15/58	spinster	Josiah Dwight, Esq.	Springfield
Ann Newton	3/19/52	9/15/64	spinster	Benjamin Wood, Gent.	Hopkinton
David Sibbald	3/24/52	12/24/59	farmer	David Hanwood, Yeo.	Brunswick (Me.)
Josiah Wheeler	3/25/52	10/2/57	seaman	James Brown	Boston
John Neeth	5/5/52	9/14/57	hswrght	John Stover	Boston
William Peirce	6/30/52	5/31/63	dstllr[9]	Hezekiah Blanchard	Boston
Thomas Frieyd	8/4/52	8/25/60	cooper	Benjamin Sault	Boston
John Ivers	8/28/52	8/15/67	farmer	Alexander Nichols, Yeo.	Oxford
Elizabeth Hiland	10/3/52	11/26/54	spinster[28]	Stephen Boutineau, Gent.	Boston
William Chapin	10/30/52	4/14/64	crdwnr	Henry Roads	Boston
William Darby	10/31/52	9/1/61	sailmkr	Samuel Barrett	Boston
Richard Whitcomb	11/1/52	12/1/55	brcklyr	Augustus Hail	Boston
William Daniel	12/28/52	7/24/67	crdwnr	Samuel Read	Abington
Ann Hisseth	2/21/53	3/15/56	spinster	Joseph Packard, Yeo.	Bridgewater
Hugh Anderson	2/21/53	2/22/56	farmer	John Morey	Roxbury
Mary Roads	2/27/53	8/1/66	spinster	Jonas Buckingham, Yeo.	Rutland
Tabitha Peters	3/26/53	3/30/64	spinster	Israel Algar, Yeo.	Bridegwater
Lidia Peters	3/26/53	2/23/62	spinster	James Algar, Yeo.	Bridgewater
William Curtis	3/26/53	11/14/63		Joseph Winchester	Brookline
Mary Gullion	5/2/53	4/15/56	spinster	Oxenbridge Thatcher, Gent.	Boston
John Frie	5/14/53	9/15/56	boat bldr	Nathaniel Cobbett	Boston
Mary Lucas	6/5/53	9/23/58	spinster	John Popkin[3]	Boston
Rebecca Newton	6/5/53	2/15/61	spinster	Elisha Savile[27]	Braintree
Hannah Colsworthy	6/5/53	4/15/56	spinster	Henry Emmes[29]	Boston

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Martha Smith	6/13/53	3/21/59	spinster	Joseph Stedman[24]	Roxbury
William Coffin	7/3/53	4/12/68	weaver	Josiah Packard	Bridgewater
Sarah Freland	7/19/53	2/28/58	spinster	Joseph Russell[24]	Boston
Mary Ingerson	9/5/53	5/15/58	spinster	Rev. Elias Haver	Wrentham
George Smallidge	9/12/53	9/23/57	nvgtn[7]	John Galley	Boston
Morgan Kavanagh	11/14/53	5/14/57	cbntmkr	James McMillian	Boston
Nancy Huer	12/28/53	1/12/57	spinster	William Warland[30]	Boston
Sarah Lewis	1/31/54	4/16/56	spinster	John Lovell, Gent.	Boston
John Preston	2/6/54	8/25/58	hsbndry	Thomas Denny	Leicester
John Fendley	3/21/54	3/15/70	farmer	Phineas Brintnall, Yeo.	Sudbury
Sarah McCoye	3/21/54	3/15/67	spinster	Joseph Gorman[16]	Salem
Mary Young	3/21/54	10/15/63	spinster	Josiah Williams, Yeo.	Bridgewater
Agnus McFay	4/3/54	12/10/63	spinster	James Peric, Yeo.	Woburn
Katherine M. Pylering	5/1/54	10/19/62	spinster	Francis Wells, Esq.	Cambridge
Joseph Cliffton	5/1/54	1/13/73	brckmkr	Aaron Clinton	Medford
Thomas Green	5/3/54	9/14/62	shpwrght	Stephen Gallisham	Haverhill
Mary Butcher	7/3/54	5/23/72	spinster	Richard Stickney[4]	Stoughton
William Gray	7/3/54	7/15/65	cooper	Joshua Young	Boston
Rachell Glover	7/28/54	12/18/61	spinster	Samuel Read, Gent.	Uxbridge
Benjamin Harris	7/28/54	6/28/60	blcksmth	John Kellogg	Westfield
Abigail Glover	9/18/54	1/13/58	spinster	Enoch Taylor[16]	Barnstable
Dorcas Ballard	9/25/54	7/15/59	spinster	Josiah Snell, Jr.[4]	Bridgewater
Anna Gilds	1/1/55	7/20/61	spinster	Ebenezer Prat	Chelsea
James Burton	2/26/55	6/7/65	chrmkr	Joseph Putnam	Boston
William Cam[b]ell	4/3/55	6/15/71	crdwnr	Benjamin Guild	Attleborough
James Hawes	5/7/55	11/11/67		Rev. Ezekiel Dodge	Abington
Elizabeth Love	5/24/55	1/15/68	spinster	Henry Sawyer[4]	Methuen
Mary Hutchinson	5/31/55	5/4/65	spinster	John Young	Bridgewater
Sarah Haden	6/4/55	5/20/62	spinster	Elisha Foster[31]	Boston
Mary McFay	7/24/55	10/25/66	spinster	John Reed, Yeo.	Bridgewater
William Thomas	9/3/55	12/11/71	crdwnr	Ebenezer Parker	Reading
Mary Hincks	12/23/55	6/15/63	spinster	Seth Williams, Yeo.	Easton
John Collis	4/3/56	8/15/63	hsbndry	Thomas Bacon, Yeo.	Bedford
Anthony Frazier	4/21/56	9/3/70	ropemkr	Jacob Yeatten	Boston

Isaiah Thomas	6/4/56	1/8/69	printer	Zachariah Fowle	Boston
Elizabeth Manning	6/18/56	11/15/68	spinster	John Filson[4]	Halifax
James Gordon	6/18/56	4/25/67	hsbndry	Robert McClure, Yeo.	Londonderry, N. H.
James Perraway	7/3/56	6/2/66	hsbndry	Israel Ashley, Esq.	Westfield
Mary Miller	8/5/56	3/16/68	spinster	Rev. Gad Hitchcock	Pembroke
William Bracket	8/6/56	8/6/72	cooper	William Lombard[4]	Truro
Thomas[32]	8/26/56	11/20/65	sailmkr	Alexander Chamberlain	Boston
James[32]	8/26/56	9/12/67	sailmkr	Alexander Chamberlain	Boston
Narius Townson	8/28/56	9/15/64	sailmkr	Joseph Boardman	Boston
William Townsend	9/1/56	9/17/67	crdwnr	John Brintnall, Yeo.	Chelsea
Robert Humphrys[32]	10/6/56	9/16/71	cooper	Joseph Dyer	Boston
Bartholemew Lynch	12/1/56	4/24/71	shoreman	Joseph Roundey	Marblehead
Mary Noell	1/5/57	5/13/65	spinster	Andrew Belcher, Esq.	Milton
Francis Cummont	2/2/57	1/1/66	farmer	Philip G. Kast[27]	Boston
Robert Marchie	2/17/57	3/5/67	hsbndry	Barnabas Howard	Bridgewater
Abigail Craig	3/2/57	1/16/69	spinster	Ebenezer Fisher, Jr.[33]	Wrentham
Thomas Pilsberry	3/12/57	9/12/66	nvgtn[7]	Isaac Phillips	Boston
Ruth[32]	5/4/57	3/1/69	spinster	Alexander Chamberlain[34]	Boston
Thomas Bantom	6/22/57	4/15/61	farmer	Samuel Mower, Gent.	Worcester
Elizabeth Noel	7/6/57	8/13/68	spinster	William Hudson, Yeo.	Oxford
Elizabeth Moody	7/7/57	12/?/67	spinster	John Phillips[35]	Charlestown
Penelope Curtain	8/4/57	8/4/67	spinster	Samuel Bartlett, Esq.	Plymouth
Robert Clark	9/13/57	3/15/72	weaver	Matthew Kingman[4]	Bridgewater
John Fiske	9/15/57	2/12/62	boat bldr	Thomas Bently	Boston
John Boyd	10/27/57	11/15/60	tailor	Joseph Billings	Boston
Stephen Grover	11/10/57	11/10/68	hsbndry	William Blair	Weston
Hill Green	12/8/57	4/13/64	nvgtn[7]	John Phillips	Boston
Joseph Miller	12/31/57	1/1/73	crdwnr	Ebenezer Fletcher	Littleton
Phillip Peak	1/23/58	4/18/73	hsbndry	Jonas Stone	Lexington
Samuel Allen	2/1/58	12/20/64	chrmkr	Samuel Ridgway, Jr.	Boston
Robert Kilby	3/1/58	9/15/72	hsbndry	Cadwallader Ford, Esq.	Wilmington
Robert Layman	3/24/58	10/15/71	blcksmth	James Packard	Bridgewater
Mary Devereux	5/1/58	11/15/64	spinster	Nathaniel Warner[36]	Boston
Katherine Miller	7/22/58	3/19/64	spinster	Samuel Sellon[37]	Boston

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Mary Peck	8/2/58	5/5/67	spinster	James Smith[2]	Boston
Joseph Erwin	8/2/58	8/22/73	weaver[38]	Gideon Lyman, Gent.	Northampton
Abagail Cox	9/6/58	5/15/60	hswfry[39]	William Warland[35]	Boston
Sarah Whaley	9/6/58	9/6/65	hswfry	Mary Chipman[40]	Barnstable
Parker Fessenden	9/6/58	3/2/72	nvgtn[7]	Michael Wormstead, Jr.	Marblehead
Joseph Fessenden	9/6/58	4/22/74	nvgtn[7]	Michael Wormstead, Jr.	Marblehead
John Perraway	10/2/58	8/15/75	nvgtn[7]	William Crowell	Marblehead
Richard Bowers	10/2/58	9/26/74	nvgtn[7]	Richard Tutt	Marblehead
Elizabeth Ruddocks	12/6/58	6/2/61	knt, sw, spn[41]	Samuel Denny[4]	Leicester
William Gray	1/3/59	7/15/55	cooper	Samuel Barnard	Boston
Martha Holmes	2/7/59	3/9/70	hswfry	Jeremiah Smith, Yeo.	Milton
Charles Taylor	2/7/59	11/16/67	ropemkr	William Bourn, Esq.	Marblehead
James Thompson	2/7/59	6/11/74	weaver[38]	Daniel Graves[4]	Sunderland
Mary Martin	3/7/59	12/10/69	knt, sw, spn[41]	Alexander Sampson[5]	Brookline
Ann Ingersoll	5/2/59	6/20/70	hswfry	Phineas Lyman, Esq.	Suffield
John Taylor	5/2/59	10/22/71	chrmkr	Samuel Ridgway, Jr.	Boston
John Davis	5/2/59	6/26/75	weaver[38]	Oliver Smith[4]	Hadley
Lydia Gray	6/6/59	1/10/64	hswfry	John Jones[4]	Marshfield
William Curtain	6/6/59	8/24/74	hsbndry	John Jones	Marshfield
Susanna Perraway	6/6/59	1/20/71	hswfry	Robert Howard, Jr.	Bridgewater
Thomas Craige	6/14/59	2/12/75	prk mkr[6]	Samuel Bridge	Worcester
Katherine Stanton	8/1/59	2/14/68	hswfry	William Simpkins[42]	Boston
Henry Peak	9/5/59	10/15/70	blcksmth	John Anthoine	Marblehead
Mary Craigie	9/15/59	8/10/65	hswfry	Nathaniel Phelps[29]	Northampton
Mary Davis	10/3/59	9/12/71	hswfry	Daniel Henshaw, Yeo.	Leicester
Abraham Fobey	10/3/59	9/10/71	dstllr[9]	William Moore	Boston
Robert Hokey	10/3/59	4/6/74	hsbndry	Francis Wyman, Yeo.	Georgetown
Elizabeth Simpson	10/3/59	11/12/69	hswfry	Moses Bass[31]	Boston
John Banks	10/3/59	8/16/66		Andrew Adams[24]	Grafton
William Gaskin	2/6/60	8/22/70	nvgtn[7]	Abraham Mullett[43]	Marblehead
Agnes Lillie	2/6/60	11/10/67	hswfry	Ichabod Jones[16]	Boston
Mark Noble	2/14/60	7/6/74	hsbndry	Moses Marsh, Gent.	Hadley
William Tuckerman	2/28/60	8/22/65	twn spnnr[10]	Thomas Rice [10 44]	Boston
Rebecca Taylor	2/28/60	1/15/68	hswfry	Samuel Holbrook[45]	Boston

William Shirley	4/4/60	6/6/72	sailmkr	Joseph Striker	Marblehead
Mary Rogers	5/7/60	5/21/63	hswfry	Robert Thompson[46]	Bridgewater
John Shirley	5/10/60	1/1/76	crdwnr	John Fraser	Eastham
Sarah Hoar	5/17/60	4/24/62	hswfry	David Willmarth[6 21]	Bridgewater
Arthur Keeve	6/4/60	4/19/76	hsbndry	Paul Mandell, Gent.	Hardwick
Susannah Holmes	6/4/60	5/28/73	hswfry	Paul Mandell, Gent.	Hardwick
Abigail Cox	7/1/60	5/15/61	hswfry	William Warland[35]	Boston
Thomas Lillie	7/2/60	2/23/76	nvgtn[7]	Joseph Sellman[47]	Marblehead
Sarah Whitney	7/17/60	4/6/72	hswfry	Samuel Waterman, Yeo.	Halifax
George Walker	8/6/60	3/10/65	sailmkr	Isaac Wendell	Boston
Mary Nichols	8/6/60	12/5/72	hswfry	Perez Marsh[27]	Hatfield
Elizabeth Clough	10/1/60	7/24/72	hswfry	Hezekiah Blanchard[9]	Boston
William Burk	10/1/60	6/9/66	nvgtn[7]	Francis Ingraham	Boston
Jonas Johnson	10/1/60	10/1/67	blockmkr	David Gardner	Boston
James Melorn	10/1/60	4/1/74	barber[6]	John Stirling	Boston
Sarah Kenney	11/5/60	6/1/67	hswfry	Thomas Barron[44]	Boston
Daniel Hanglin	11/17/60	2/13/64	nvgtn[7]	Nathaniel Loring[2]	Boston
Jonathan Johnson	1/7/61	10/1/67	ropemkr	Hugh McDaniel	Boston
Thomas Caryl	2/6/61	2/27/75	blcksmth	Benjamin Stow, Yeo.	Southborough
William Pierce	2/6/61	2/24/71	barber[6]	John Adams	Boston
John Dollison	6/3/61	10/19/77	cooper	Joshua Townsend, Jr.	Bolton
Paul Ewen	7/1/61	8/15/72	chrmkr	Paul Spear	Boston
Edward Deane	7/1/61	7/18/71	gldsmth	Benjamin Burt	Boston
Thomas Banks	7/1/61	10/20/73	[hsbndry]	William Williams, Gent.	Hatfield
Benjamin Wright	7/2/61	7/3/63	blcksmth	Edward Foster	Boston
Mary Pimm	9/2/61	9/20/71	hswfry	Thomas Gardner[44]	Boston
Martha Townsend	9/2/61	6/15/68	hswfry	John Cunningham[31]	Boston
John D. Legg	9/26/61	9/1/76	tailor	George Hodge	Northampton
Ann Wise	10/6/61	11/22/72	hswfry	Eliphalet Leonard, Jr.[3]	Easton
Samuel Harris	10/7/61	12/12/66	tailor	Samuel Harris	Boston
Jane Butler	11/26/61	2/12/73	hswfry	Samuel Preston, Gent.	Littleton
George Lish	12/2/61	2/19/74	glazier	Daniel Diman[24 48]	Plymouth
Elizabeth Obison	12/2/61	6/6/72	hswfry	John Winslow[20]	Boston
Hannah Prest	12/2/61	12/22/72	hswfry	Capt. John Hancock	Charlestown

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James Tucker	12/9/61	2/15/67	mason	William Warland	Boston
Mary Treboo	2/3/62	11/10/73	hswfry	Capt. James Falkner, Gent.	Medford
Mary Barrett	3/3/62	9/25/72	hswfry	Josiah Searl[4]	Southampton
Josiah Snelling	4/7/62	1/2/78		Rev. Ezekiel Dodge	Abington
William Loveless	4/7/62	6/11/78	nvgtn[7]	John Freto	Marblehead
Enoch Jarvis	6/2/62	5/13/72	ropemkr	Hugh McDaniel	Boston
John Burk	6/9/62	6/4/73		James Lamont[4]	Georgetown
Sarah Allen	7/7/62	7/15/74	hswfry	William Gridley[11]	Roxbury
Ebenezer Bowman	8/16/62	2/29/77		John Martin, Yeo.	Brunswick (Me.)
William Williams	9/1/62	8/3/68	nvgtn[7]	Jabez Harlow	Plymouth
Elizabeth Jones	9/6/62	3/17/71	hswfry	Alexander Mayors[16]	Boston
John Shootesmith	10/6/62	8/16/69	twn spnnr[10]	Thomas Smith	Boston
Margaret Cunningham	10/6/62	8/15/67	hswfry	Hezekiah B. Welch[16]	Boston
Danforth Champney	10/18/62	9/2/76	cooper	Hudson Vickery[49]	Eastham
Susanna McGown	11/10/62	1/27/75	hswfry	Jonas Buckingham, Yeo.	Rutland
Gersham Ewen	12/1/62	12/20/73	cooper	David Spear	Boston
John Griffin	12/15/62	5/16/78	crdwnr	Samuel Thompson, Yeo.	Holden
Ann Killeron	1/5/63	12/16/75	hswfry	William Sheppard[2]	Boston
Elizabeth Carroll	2/2/63	11/1/67	hswfry	Rev. Andrew Eliot	Boston
George Walker	3/7/63	3/15/65	sailmkr	Thomas Palfrey	Boston
Mary Baner	4/6/63	5/15/71	hswfry	Bartholomew Sutton[24]	Boston
Mary Burk	4/6/63	4/10/66	hswfry	Ann Pain	Boston
Oliver Merrick	4/6/63	1/5/64	blcksmth	Richard Boynton	Boston
Francis Akley	5/4/63	3/16/72	cooper	Edward Houghton, Yeo.	Holden
William Everton	6/27/63	4/23/76	cooper	Joseph Ashleye, Yeo.	Westfield
Mary Snelling	7/6/63	9/26/67	hswfry	Israel Loring[20]	Boston
Mary Green	7/6/63	3/10/74	hswfry	Thomas Smith[10]	Boston
Addison Jacobs	7/6/63	1/6/70	blockmkr	John Brewer	Boston
Abigail Buckley	8/3/63	6/3/75	hswfry	James Graham[8]	Boston
Thomas Peak	9/1/63	3/22/71	blockmkr	William Dickman	Boston
Sarah Burk	9/7/63	4/2/68	hswfry	John Flowers	Boston
Elias Cox	10/1/63	3/25/79	cooper	Thomas Holbrook[16]	Wellfleet
Moses Mangent	10/13/63	5/13/78	cooper	Joseph Otis, Esq.	Barnstable
Mary Turner	11/5/63	11/1/65	hswfry	Joseph Patterson, Yeo.	W...
Andrew Croze	12/31/63	5/15/78	cooper	Silas Fowler, Yeo.	Westfield

Samuel Hardiman	[illegible]	[illegible]			
Andrew Croze	12/31/63	5/15/78	cooper	Silas Fowler, Yeo.	Westfield
Mary Smith	1/4/64	3/14/77	hswfry	Elijah Warner[4]	Hardwick
Samuel Myrick[50]	1/20/64	1/11/66	cooper	Elisha Deane[18]	Wellfleet
James Pumphy(?)	1/31/64	9/17/74	cooper	Bildad Fowler[18]	Westfield
Jonathan Lynd	1/31/64	4/25/75	cooper	Daniel Bagg, Jr., Yeo.	Westfield
Rebecca Ryan	2/1/64	11/8/74	hswfry	William Tompson, Yeo.	Billerica
Ebenezer Blancher	6/6/64	2/1/77	chndlr[51]	Edward Langdon	Boston
Mary Scudder	6/6/64	8/25/71	hswfry	Lemuel Cox[46]	Boston
Hannah Meney	6/6/64	1/20/73	hswfry	Samuel Badger[8]	Boston
Ann Bleigh	6/6/64	8/19/68	hswfry	Christopher Ranks[31]	Boston
Benjamin Champney	6/6/64	9/3/70	blockmkr	Thomas Emmons	Boston
George Richardson	6/11/64	8/30/78	cooper	William McKinstry[27]	Taunton
Patrick Welch	7/4/64	12/25/74	ropemkr	Samuel Emmons	Boston
Lucretia Melvin	9/5/64	5/25/75	hswfry	John Greenwood[14]	Boston
Sarah Snelling	9/5/64	3/1/74	hswfry	John Longley[24]	Boston
Joseph Prince	9/14/64	3/1/77	crdwnr	John Hawkes	Lynn
William Bright	9/17/64	8/7/73	baker[52]	Samuel Marshall	Salem
Susanna Brown	9/17/64	3/6/68	hswfry	Charles Pynchon[27]	Springfield
Elizabeth Jones	10/3/64	3/17/71	hswfry	Hezediah Coley[11]	Boston
Sarah Forbus	10/11/64	10/27/75	hswfry	Samuel Williams, Gent.	Springfield
John Ackley	10/11/64	4/1/79		Samuel Williams, Gent.	Springfield
Jane Taylor	2/6/65	7/31/75	hswfry	Thomas Wendell[44]	Boston
John Brown	2/8/65	12/15/79		John Mason, Yeo.	Dedham
Mary Clough	2/12/65	10/2/76	hswfry	David Brewer, Gent.	Brookfield
Hannah Melvin	2/20/65	3/15/77	hswfry	Jonathan Ferre, Yeo.	Brimfield
Thomas Ryan	3/6/65	5/15/71	printer	Samuel Draper	Boston
Susanna Follings	3/6/65	1/7/72	hswfry	Thomas Russell[8]	Boston
Christopher Lynch	3/6/65	1/29/72	tailor	Francis Shaw	Boston
Jannet Ware	4/3/65	11/15/75	hswfry	Jonathan Wyman, Yeo.	Woburn
William Thwing	4/4/65	10/17/66	ropemkr	Samuel Emmons	Boston
Thomas More	4/26/65	10/1/79	hswrght	James Flagg[2]	Pownalborough (Me.)
Margaret Forbus	5/1/65	3/27/77	hswfry	Joshua Bently[53]	Boston
Lydia Curtis	5/1/65	12/28/74	hswfry	Joshua Blanchard[2]	Boston
William Smith	5/4/65	6/21/80	tailor	Lewis Thomas	Taunton

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Mary Barber	6/15/65	6/15/68	hswfry	Seth Catlin, Yeo.	Deerfield
Joseph Fothergill	6/15/65	4/10/78	cooper	Nathanael Dickinson, Yeo.	Deerfield
William Warner	8/7/65	6/7/78	ropemkr	Thomas Emmons	Boston
John Burgis	8/7/65	9/13/79		Thomas Bacon, Yeo.	Bedford
Elizabeth Kellam	10/30/65	9/10/76	hswfry	Moses Dorr[54]	Roxbury
Sarah Burk	3/5/66	4/2/68	hswfry	John Lovering[30]	Boston
Margaret McCloud	3/5/66	6/15/73	hswfry	Samuel A. Otis[2]	Boston
Sarah Richards	4/2/66	1/9/71	hswfry	Samuel Marshall[27]	Boston
Richard Warren	5/7/66	12/20/81	cooper	Samuel Hatch[16]	Wellfleet
Samuel Smith	5/24/66	12/27/78	crdwnr	Edward Smith	Wellfleet
Joseph Maxfield	5/29/66	12/15/78	hsbndry	Abraham Burbank, Yeo.	Springfield
Edward Taveneaugh	6/4/66	8/23/80	shmkr	James Brown	Wellfleet
William Palfrey	7/1/66	12/15/81		William James, Jr., Yeo.	St. Georges (Me.)
Stephen Burgis	7/2/66	5/5/81		Samuel Basset, Yeo.	Wellfleet
Elizabeth Bradshaw	7/2/66	10/18/78	hswfry	Daniel Kellogg, Yeo.	Amherst
Francis Dizer	7/2/66	4/4/80	srvyng[38]	John Martin, Yeo.	Brunswick (Me.)
Katharine Murphy	7/7/66	1/1/71	hswfry	Robert Loyd, Yeo.	Blanford
Rehanus Lewis	7/17/66	11/9/78	hswfry	Josiah Brewer, Jr., Gent.	Worcester
John Forbus	8/20/66	1/20/81	crdwnr	Joshua Combs, Jr.	Georgetown (Me.)
Joseph Osborn	8/23/66	10/2/74	nvgtn[7]	Edward Bacon, Jr.	Barnstable
Elizabeth Lyniard	10/1/66	3/15/70	hswfry	Joseph Calef[13]	Boston
John Jackson	10/22/66	3/10/73	nvgtn[7]	John Gray	Boston
Bartholemew Meloney	10/24/66	12/12/82	nvgtn[7]	Benjamin Pritchard[8]	Marblehead
Sarah Sprague	11/14/66	8/16/70	hswfry	Edward Jackson[55]	Boston
Benjamin Lemoine	11/6/66	1/10/81	crdwnr	Robert Stetson	Wellfleet
Ann Ingalls	12/3/66	7/10/74	hswfry	James Nolton[16]	Boston
Jane Taylor	12/5/66	7/31/74	hswfry	Samuel Adams[24]	Booth Bay (Me.)
James Goffe	1/5/67	3/17/81	nvgtn[7]	John Clark	Eastham
Saunders Chambers	1/7/67	12/25/71	nvgtn[7]	James Anthony	Sherburn
Robert Wharff	1/14/67	7/7/82	nvgtn[7]	Samuel Snow	Marblehead
John Williams	1/27/67	6/1/80	nvgtn[7]	Peter Lecraw	Marblehead
Mary Hicks	2/18/67	9/1/77	hswfry	John Turner, Jr.[4]	Pembroke
Samuel Bradley	3/27/67	1/1/82	nvgtn[7]	Peter Pease	Edgartown
John Lemoine	3/27/67	7/26/80	nvgtn[7]	Thomas Arey	Edgartown

Tamar Allen	4/13/67	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] Hopkins	5/6/67	12/27/74	nvgtn[4]	Elijah Doubleday	Boston
John Plant	5/7/67	3/29/79	crdwnr	David Loring	Boston
Elizabeth Jones	5/13/67	3/17/71	hswfry	Rev. Nathan Stone	Yarmouth
Nicholas Mangent	6/3/67	1/1/81		William Crawford, Esq.	Fort Pownall (Me.)
Lydia Gregory	6/3/67	11/15/73	hswfry	Benjamin Austin, Esq.	Boston
Henry Iverd	6/18/67	1/1/79		Aaron Weld, Yeo.	Sturbridge
Elizabeth McGrath	7/7/67	3/1/79	hswfry	Joseph Brightman[2]	Falmouth (Me.)
Richard Griffiths	7/29/67	7/20/71		Joseph Blake, Gent.	Hardwick
Lettice Boston	7/29/67	9/1/75	hswfry	Joseph Blake, Gent.	Hardwick
Henry Carrigan	8/5/67	8/1/80	ropemkr	Jacob Yeaten	Marblehead
Elizabeth Williams	8/25/67	8/1/77	hswfry	Nehemiah Webb, Yeo.	Sandwich
Elizabeth Utinock	9/2/67	1/1/77	hswfry	Samuel Gregg[56]	Londonderry, N. H.
Mary Goggin	9/24/67	12/1/79	hswfry	Timothy Ruggles, Jr., Gent.	Hardwick
Ann Evans	9/30/67	9/17/76	hswfry	Edward Durant[27]	Holliston
Thomas Warren	10/20/67	3/15/84	blcksmth	Anthony Combs	Harpswell (Me.)
Benjamin Ballard	10/23/67	11/9/76	boat bldr	Thomas Bently	Boston
John Watson	10/29/67	11/7/81	cooper	Joshua Atwood	Wellfleet
Eleanor Berry	11/18/67	7/10/77	hswfry	Thomas Rogers[16]	Boston
Ebenezer Dumaresque	11/19/67	11/25/81		Nathanael Martyn[27]	Harvard
Abigail Cole	11/26/67	2/20/78	hswfry	John Shaw[4]	Raynham
Edward Howard	11/28/67	10/15/75		John Abbey, Gent.	Hopkinton
George Richardson	12/9/67	8/30/78	cooper	George Leonard, III	Norton
Charles Buffard	12/12/67	11/15/77		John Boyes, Yeo.	Rutland
Edward McGown	1/1/68	5/5/82	crdwnr	Elijah Butler	Edgartown
Samuel Cherry	1/7/68	5/15/77	hswrght[51]	James Lindsey	Easton
Thomas Ryan	1/15/68	5/15/71	crdmkr[58]	Abraham Tuckerman	Boston
Peter Smith	1/20/68	6/24/81		John Sinnet, Yeo.	Blanford
Thomas Osborn	2/3/68	5/15/80		Zadock Chapin[4]	Springfield
Philip Peak	3/2/68	4/18/73	hswrght	Benjamin Sumner, Jr.	Boston
Mary McGee	3/9/68	4/15/70	hswfry	Samuel Emms[3]	Boston
William Smith	3/11/68	3/4/77	nvgtn[7]	Jeremiah Hawes	Wellfleet
Richard Caten	3/16/68	8/15/82		Daniel Bliss, Esq.	Rutland
Cornelius Kellihorn	3/17/68	4/15/85		James Thompson[4]	Petersham
Joseph Gray	3/17/68	4/15/84	nvgtn[7]	Joseph Higgins	Wellfleet

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
James Raven	3/17/68	1/1/78	crdwnr	Andrew Adams	Milton
Nathanael Corbett	3/19/68	5/25/82	nvgtn[7]	David Hawse	Wellfleet
Margarett Cherry	3/19/68	5/15/72	hswfry	Hugh McLean[16]	Milton
Mary Shaw	3/24/68	7/15/71	hswfry	William Biggs[24]	Truro
Edward Kelly	4/6/68	5/1/84		Edward Selfridge, Yeo.	Rutland
Elizabeth Corbin	4/12/68	6/5/75	hswfry	James Dyer[24]	Weymouth
Elizabeth Mumford	4/15/68	12/25/69	hswfry	John Bowen, Gent.	Lancaster
Tamar Bellman	4/16/68	7/15/71	hswfry	Jabez Tupper[16]	Sandwich
Robert Smith	4/20/68	4/16/80	barber[6]	Theodore Dehone	Boston
Philip W. Kennedy	4/29/68	8/8/69	shpwrght	Isaac Wybird	Boston
Sarah Akley	5/9/68	3/1/77	hswfry	Joshua Clap	Scituate
Katharine Fitzgerald	5/26/68	8/15/80	hswfry	Nathaniel Page[25]	Hardwick
John Bradley	6/16/68	2/12/81	blcksmth	Timothy Bigelo	Worcester
Thomas Burns	6/28/68	7/29/81	nvgtn[7]	Charles Callahan	Pownalborough (Me.)
William Delahunt	6/30/68	10/20/79		Hon. John Worthington, Esq.	Springfield
Mary Bennison	7/19/68	4/1/75	hswfry	Samuel Clap, Yeo.	Scituate
Samuel Akley	7/23/68	6/17/85	whlwrght	John Merrill, Yeo.	Topsham
Elizabeth Bennison	8/4/68	7/26/72	hswfry	Thomas Stevenson[2]	Hingham
Sarah Nails	8/22/68	5/7/71	hswfry	Seth Smith[59]	Granby
William Milton	8/31/68	11/7/76		Charles Cushing, Esq.	Pownalborough (Me.)
Robert Vokes	9/2/68	5/27/82		Daniel Oliver, Esq.	Hardwick
Mary Akley	9/6/68	12/20/80	hswfry	Edward Russel[27]	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Elizabeth Lemoine	10/1/68	8/1/80	hswfry	Thomas Patten[13]	Watertown
William Corbett	10/12/68	4/26/84	shpwrght	Cornelius Mansis	Haverhill
Peter Bout	10/15/68	5/15/76	nvgtn[7]	Shubael Downs	Harwich
Robert Humphreys[32]	10/20/68	9/16/71	cooper	David Stoddard[2]	Boston
Margarett Fortus	10/31/68	3/27/77	hswfry	John Hancock[24]	Penobscot (Me.)
Samuel Hartley	11/25/68	1/15/83	crdwnr	Daniel Parks	Boston
Robert Humphreys[32]	11/1/68	9/16/71	cooper	John Smith[2]	Boston
James Hudson Vokes	11/16/68	11/23/83		Shubael Lovell, Yeo.	Barnstable
Mary Dumphy	11/24/68	9/1/74	hswfry	Henry Folger[16]	Nantucket
Sarah Lassley	11/25/68	2/15/80	hswfry	Elijah Leonard, Yeo.	Springfield
Susanna Smith	12/10/68	9/11/79	hswfry	Jonathan Crosby[60]	Boston
Matthew Hopkins	12/10/68	12/27/74	nvgtn[7]	Alexander Lendale	Boston
George Collin	12/31/68	2/13/82		William Dodge, Yeo.	Lincoln

George Coffin	12/31/68	2/13/82		William Dodge, Yeo.	Lincoln
Joseph Harley	1/9/69	5/2/79	nvgtn[7]	Andrew Dennis[43]	Marblehead
John Lucas	2/22/69	4/10/79		Nehemiah Hinds, Yeo.	Greenwich
William Warner	3/21/69	6/7/78	cooper[7]	Capt. Samuel Foster	Harwich
Stephen Stow	4/5/69	2/15/76	blcksmth	Edward Winter	Boston
Ann Forrest	4/12/69	3/14/79	hswfry	Jonathan Dwight, Gent.	Springfield
Nathan Procter	5/9/69	8/12/80	ppr mkr	Richard Clark	Milton
Ann Cromartie	6/7/69	2/25/74	mntu mkr[61]	Ruth Decosta	Boston
Mary Brooks	6/17/69	6/1/75	hswfry	Thomas Matthew[16]	Plymouth
Elizabeth Pimm	8/21/69	12/15/81	hswfry	James Barter[62]	Marblehead
Elizabeth Mullins	9/6/69	12/31/79	hswfry	Robert Rand[63]	Boston
Nathaniel Rhodes	9/8/69	4/10/79	ropemkr	Abraham Hammatt	Sherburn
Francis Appleton	10/4/69	9/27/76	shpwrght	Thomas Walker	Boston
Ann Guthridge	10/21/69	5/10/76	hswfry	James Frost[27]	Cambridge
John Godfrey	10/26/69	5/15/85	hsbndry	Matthew Knight, Yeo.	Lancaster
Sarah Dunscutt	11/24/69	1/6/87	hswfry	John McClenche[3]	Amherst
Hannah Barry	11/4/69	2/10/80	hswfry	Hanna Oulton[64]	Falmouth (Me.)
Mary Barrett	11/4/69	9/25/72	hswfry	Lemuel Pomeroy	Southampton
Ann Cromartie	1/4/70	3/10/73	hswfry	Bossenger Foster	Boston
Lydia Green	3/1/70	1/1/81	hswfry	Charles Baxter, Yeo.	Braintree
Mary Morris	5/4/70	11/23/78	hswfry	Sarah Dawes[40]	Boston
Sarah Fothergill	5/17/70	9/5/75	hswfry	Cornelius Fellows[18]	Gloucester
Hannah Barjer	5/18/70	10/30/69	hswfry	James Burton[16]	Boston
Mary Fothergill	5/23/70	3/20/81	hswfry	Jurashaddai Doty[3]	Hardwick
Richard Smith	6/6/70	5/22/83	crdwnr	Seth Loomis	Westfield
Andrew Dunn	6/6/70	3/8/80	hsbndry	James Campbell	Westfield
Katharine Thwing	6/6/70	10/15/71	hswfry	John Lowder, Jr.[5]	Roxbury
Jonathan Silsberry	6/6/70	5/22/83	cooper[38]	John Ingersoll, Gent.	Westfield
Thomas Banks[65]	6?/6?/70	10/20/73	crdwnr	——— Belding	Hatfield
Robert McNoir	6/26/70	1/8/79	blcksmith	Stephen Hussey	Nantucket
William Ross	6/30/70	1/13/82	cooper[38]	Adiah Sackett[4]	Westfield
Sarah Pattin	7/6/70	5/25/82	hswfry	Aaron Hunt, Yeo.	Hardwick
Lydia Rhodes	7/19/70	6/17/73	hswfry	George Pynchon, Gent.	Springfield
Susanna Whitman	9/7/70	8/10/78	hswfry	Samuel Emmes[3]	Boston

TABLE OF INDENTURES—*continued*

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Margarett Burton	11/1/70	7/20/80	hswfry	Jonathan Warner, Yeo.	Hardwick
William Newhall	11/7/70	5/18/75	lthr drpr[66]	David Munro	Charlestown
James Melvin	12/12/70	4/1/74	prk mkr[6]	Richard Carpenter	Boston
John Gilbert	12/17/70	12/17/85	blcksmth	Elnathan Samson	Dartmouth
Josiah Burke	1/2/71	8/5/78	cbnt mkr	John How	Boston
Ebenezer Blancher	1/24/71	2/1/77	ropemkr	Abraham Hammatt	Plymouth
Nicolas Mangent	2/7/71	1/1/81	hsbndry	Peter Chapin, Yeo.	New Marlborough
Henry Flemings	2/14/71	8/17/83	hsbndry	Isaac Hunter, Yeo.	New Braintree
Timothy Foster	2/14/71	8/22/86	hsbndry	David Baldwin, Jr., Yeo.	Spencer
James Ranstead	2/19/71	5/16/85	hsbndry	Joseph Johnson, Yeo.	New Braintree
Sarah Lewis	2/26/71	1/20/84	hswfry	Paul Mandell, Yeo.	Hardwick
Ann Allen	2/26/71	9/8/80	hswfry	Paul Mandell, Yeo.	Hardwick
James Bailey	2/27/71	2/18/84	crdwnr	Benjamin Ruggles, Yeo.	Hardwick
Enoch Jarvis	3/6/71	5/13/72	ropemkr	Hugh Tarbett	Boston
William Ranstead	3/13/71	4/10/83	brcklyr	Edward Maylem	Boston
Joseph Lillie	4/11/71	6/18/79	tailor	Richard Billings, Jr.	Boston
Ester Burgean	5/7/71	9/15/81	hswfry	David Durphy[16]	Dartmouth
Hannah Powell	5/30/71	4/14/80	hswfry	Rev. Nathan Stone	Yarmouth
James McLary	6/5/71	7/15/81	tbccnst[67]	Andrew Gillespie	Boston
Neal Peacock	6/12/71	8/28/81	hsbndry	Edward Russell[27]	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Anthony Haswell	7/23/71	4/6/77	printer	Isaiah Thomas	Boston
Ann Wilkinson	9/3/71	12/25/87	hswfry	Samuel Gray[68]	Boston
William Collins	9/4/71	5/15/82	sailmkr	Richard Neck	Marblehead
Philip Peak	9/19/71	4/18/73	hswright	Benjamin Scott	Boston
James Fling	9/23/71	11/4/78	cooper[38]	Nathanael Downs, Yeo.	Harwich
Richard Butler	9/23/71	2/28/77	crdwnr	William Androws	Boston
Margarett Bright	9/25/71	7/15/84	hswfry	Silas Stone, Yeo.	Brookfield
Elizabeth Gray	10/21/71	4/2/83	hswfry	Samuel Gardner[27]	Milton
Henrietta Jeans	10/25/71	9/3/84	hswfry	William Billings, Gent.	Sunderland
Thomas Akley	11/6/71	10/3/77		Rev. Jason Haven	Dedham
William McFarland	11/6/71	8/28/84	chrmkr	Samuel Ridgway, Jr.	Boston
Mary McLary	12/7/71	7/12/74	hswfry	Ezra Weston	Duxbury
Elizabeth Warden	12/10/71	12/7/80	hswfry	John Billings, Gent.	Dorchester
Jane Wiseaker (?)	12/26/71	3/14/81	hswfry	Elisha Gray[60]	Barnstable

Samuel Prince	1/22/72	2/13/87	hsbndry	John Field, Gent.	Amherst
Susanna Jordan	1/22/72	3/26/79	hswfry	Asa Waite[3]	New Braintree
Mary Liswell	2/5/72	5/29/81	hswfry	Benjamin Ingersoll[35]	Boston
George Forbis	2/6/72	10/15/88	hsbndry	Paul Mandell, Gent.	Hardwick
Henry Welch	4/7/72	8/29/85	crdwnr[7]	Reuben Newcomb[16]	Wellfleet
Martin McFarland	4/27/72	9/23/87	hsbndry	Elisha Allis, Gent.	Hatfield
Mary Liscow	4/27/72	4/21/83	hswfry	Elisha Allis, Gent.	Hatfield
Elizabeth Wharffe	5/22/72	7/18/86	hswfry	Martin Smith[24]	Amherst
Oliver Standard	5/22/72	4/13/88	hsbndry	Elisha Ingram, Yeo.	Amherst
Joanna Williams	6/15/72	10/6/82	hswfry	Noah Coleman, Yeo.	Hatfield
Thomas Bradley	8/1/72	7/28/86	weaver	James Bacon, Yeo.	Barnstable
Benjamin Fitch	8/5/72	8/15/87	tailor	James Holmes	New Braintree
Michael Stewart	8/5/72	7/10/79	nvgtn[7]	William Haynes	Boston
Napthali Newhall	8/5/72	6/25/78	chrmkr	Samuel Ridgway, Jr.	Boston
Benjamin Fitch	8/5/72	8/15/87	tailor	James Holmes	New Braintree
Margarett Freestat	8/24/72	5/8/81	hswfry	Moses Bagg[3]	Springfield
Elizabeth Barbour	8/28/72	2/3/81	hswfry	Jonathan Balch[69]	Boston
Hannah Ethridge	10/13/72	12/31/83	hswfry	George Pynchon, Gent.	Springfield
George Graves	10/13/72	10/15/86	hsbndry	George Pynchon, Gent.	Springfield
Joseph Stringer	10/14/72	4/15/80	cooper	Job Wheelwright	Boston
Nathaniel Rust	10/14/72	7/27/79	tailor	John Province	Boston
Hannah White	10/16/72	1/20/77	hswfry	Jacob Edes[6]	Boston
Thomas C. Reed	10/17/72	6/4/85	cooper	Barnabas Atwood, Gent.	Wellfleet
Henry Dorcy	10/21/72	9/1/75	nvgtn[7]	John Kendrick	Edgartown
Peter Walker	10/24/72	2/17/89	hsbndry	Samuel Buck, Yeo.	Murrayfield
Benjamin Bussard	12/9/72	12/6/87		John Boyes, Yeo.	Rutland
Jane Leadbetter	12/9/72	10/19/77	hswfry	Benjamin Bass[11]	Boston
William Boardman	3/16/73	1/30/80	crdwnr	Henry Mellen, Gent.	Hopkinton
John Remick	3/26/73	9/30/88	nvgtn[7]	Nathaniel Cook	Boston
Thomas Codd	4/7/73	9/16/85	hsbndry	Samuel Benjamin, Yeo.	Watertown
Benjamin Harley	5/14/73	4/9/81	blockmkr	William Dickman	Boston
Eleanor Bennet	5/31/73	3/15/85	hswfry	Mary Gorham[40]	Charlestown
John Plant	6/4/73	3/29/79		Timothy Ruggles, Jr.	Hardwick
William Warren	6/4/73	8/15/83		Paul Mandell, Gent.	Hardwick

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Cornelius Laha	6/11/73	7/6/85	nvgtn[7]	Thomas Gerry, Jr.[2]	Marblehead
Elizabeth McCulloch	6/22/73	7/25/83	hswfry	Israel Williams, Jr.	Hatfield
Margaret Richardson	6/25/73	6/15/79	hswfry	Benjamin Howland[4]	Bowdoinham (Me.)
Thomas Condon	7/6/73	3/15/83	hsbndry	Hon. Samuel Dexter, Esq.	Dedham
Elizabeth White	7/7/73	7/14/85	hswfry	Samuel Coney, Jr., Yeo.	Easton
Michael Shephard	7/8/73	10/15/79	crdwnr[38]	John Hayden[4]	Hopkinton
Hannah White	7/20/73	1/20/79	hswfry	James Fullerton[16]	Booth Bay (Me.)
Benjamin Hunt	8/4/73	5/26/79	printer	John Hicks	Boston
Sarah Pattin	9/1/73	5/25/82	hswfry	Thomas Robinson[18]	Hardwick
Thomas Burdeway	9/1/73	12/25/78	ropemkr	Edward C. Howe	Boston
John W. Laha	9/3/73	10/6/86	cooper	Joseph Stacey	Marblehead
Ann Dumaresque	10/12/73	9/1/84	hswfry	Elisha Parks, Gent.	Westfield
Katharine White	10/22/73	5/15/85	hswfry	Nathaniel Coffin[27]	Falmouth (Me.)
Benjamin Harley	11/3/73	4/9/81	blockmkr	John Brewer	Boston
John Lane	11/18/73	1/26/89	hsbndry	Jacob Taylor	Dunstable
Katharine Ross	1/20/74	5/2/85	hswfry	James Stone, Gent.	Western
William Cogsell	2/4/74	2/26/88	hsbndry	Nathaniel Loring, Jr.	Pembroke
William Hartshorn	2/23/74	6/29/89	hsbndry	Nathan Sargeant, Yeo.	Leicester
Jeremiah Powell	3/5/74	7/13/89	hsbndry	Jonathan Bowman, Esq.	Pownalborough (Me.)
William Smith	3/10/74	6/21/79	nvgtn[7]	Asa Hatch	Malden
James Kennedy	4/6/74	10/12/76	baker	James Lamman	Boston
John Grimes	4/6/74	1/1/89	hsbndry	Solomon Foster, Yeo.	Littleton
Margarett Horne	4/20/74	12/25/85	hswfry	Josiah Allis[4]	Hatfield
Joseph Barratt	4/20/74	4/26/89	hsbndry	Josiah Allis	Hatfield
James Bell	4/27/74	1/11/90	hsbndry	James Wright	Pelham
John Aish	5/4/74	1/10/81	tailor	Nicholas Tabb	Boston
David Davis	5/17/74	7/15/89	hsbndry	Stephen Saxton	Southwick
John Crosby	6/8/74	2/16/76	crdwnr	Benjamin Bass	Boston
Eleanor Whitty	7/5/74	9/20/77	hswfry	Benjamin Barrows, Yeo.	Attleborough
John Whitty	7/6/74	11/1/83	ppr mkr	Richard Jordan	Milton
Robert Burgain	7/7/74	9/11/78	nvgtn[7]	Benjamin Eddy	Boston
Samuel Greenough	8/19/74	9/10/86	hsbndry	Joseph Lewis, Yeo.	Lancaster
Ann Crosby	9/20/74	11/30/84	hswfry	William McLean[70]	Boston
William Akley	10/6/74	2/15/90	nvgtn[7]	Shubael Downes	Boston

Philip Condon	10/27/74	9/10/85	hsbndry	Samuel Cunnable, Jr.	Barnardston
James Taylor	11/2/74	9/3/88	hsbndry	Joseph Lee[27]	Concord
Oliver Blanchard	11/3/74	3/24/90	hsbndry	Samuel Williams, Gent.	Springfield
Hannah Whitman	11/26/74	12/15/82	hswfry	Joseph Ballard[31]	Boston
Susanna Munn	1/11/75	5/14/82	hswfry	William Young, Yeo.	Worcester
Sarah Drapper	2/17/75	2/12/84	hswfry	John Druitt[45]	Boston
John Cleverly	3/1/75	3/1/89	hsbndry	Aaron Graves	Palmer
Elizabeth Wheeler	3/6/75	6/15/82	hswfry	Ebenezer Simpson[8]	Boston
Elizabeth Barber	12/9/76	2/4/80	hswfry	James Thurber, Esq.	Rehoboth
John Trevaty	1/1/77	1/9/88	hsbndry	Ebenezer Weld, Yeo.	Roxbury
Thomas Flowers	1/2/77	3/6/87	hsbndry	John Crooks, Yeo.	Westborough
Robert Nicholson	2/5/77	2/1/90	hsbndry	Asa Douglass, Yeo.	Hancock
Lydia Baker	2/13/77	2/1/84	hswfry	Paul Mandell, Esq., Yeo.	Hardwick
Abraham Remick	2/13/77	2/24/92	hsbndry	Paul Mandell, Esq., Yeo.	Hardwick
Richard Goodwin	2/19/77	10/25/88	hsbndry	John Williams, Esq., Yeo.	Rutland
Benjamin Scott	3/2/77	9/22/87	apthcry	Dr. William Goodhue, Jr.	Salem
Sarah Downes	3/6/77	2/2/85	hswfry	John Buss, Yeo.	Fitchburg
Samuel Pitts	3/18/77	8/17/89	hsbndry	Major Edward Taylor, Yeo.	Westfield
John Edwards	3/18/77	7/11/90	hsbndry	Mr. William Fobes, Yeo.	Norwich
Joseph Glossip	3/18/77	12/14/90	hsbndry	Dr. David Sheppard, Yeo.	Murrayfield
Samuel [Harris]	3/18/77	11/1/89	hsbndry	Zebulon Rose, Yeo.	Norwich
George M. Hanners	3/18/77	8/5/88	hsbndry	Mr. Jonanthan Ware, Yeo.	Norwich
James Stuart	3/18/77	3/25/91	hsbndry	Mr. Timothy Lyman, Yeo.	Murrayfield
Mary Jones	4/8/77	4/7/85	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Fletcher, Yeo.	New Braintree
Francis Tewally	4/17/77	5/26/90	hsbndry	Asa Douglass, Yeo.	Hancock
Joseph Pope	4/18/77	9/7/92	hsbndry	Joseph Morse, Jr., Yeo.	Sturbridge
Susann Clear	5/31/77	11/22/8?	hswfry	Ichabod Alden, Esq.	Duxborough
Mary Harris	5/12/77	5/14/81	hswfry	Charles Cushing, Esq.	Pownalborough (Me.)
Margaret Harris	5/31/77	3/1/84	hswfry	Capt. Davis Hatch	Pownalborough (Me.)
Samuel Taylor	6/12/77	5/10/88	prk mkr[6]	Thaddeus Partridge	Roxbury
Matthew Lucas	6/14/77	8/1/86	sddler	Oliver Barber	Weston
Jacob Tuckerman	6/14/77	6/1/85	hsbndry	The Hon. James Warren, Esq.	Plymouth
Martha Williams	6/30/77	7/1/79	hswfry	Daniel Fisher	Dedham
Isabella Sloane	7/24/77	1/24/84	hswfry	Nathaniel Eaton	Lancaster
Sarah Emmons	7/30/77	11/28/84	hswfry	Mary Leverett	Boston

TABLE OF INDENTURES—*continued*

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
James K. Stewart	8/9/77	12/17/91	blcksmth	Seth Washburn	Leicester
John C. Baker	9/23/77	9/20/88	hsbndry	Mr. Benjamin Nose	Milton
Mary Tilsey	9/24/77	9/1/83	hswfry	Ezekiel Fosgate	Bolton
John Taylor	10/3/77	5/3/92	hsbndry	Farrant Putnam	Fulton
John Wilks	11/7/77	11/10/91	hsbndry	Capt. Thomas French	Conway
Samuel Delarue	11/18/77	7/13/92	hsbndry	Mr. Moses Warner	Amherst
William Dunn	2/4/78	5/27/92	hsbndry	Paul Mandell, Esq.	Hardwick
Sarah Granger	2/4/78	2/13/90	hswfry	Paul Mandell, Esq.	Hardwick
Mary Waginor	3/21/78	5/1/83	hswfry	Mr. Samuel Salisbury	Boston
Henry Conners	4/15/78	5/1/91	hsbndry	Daniel Waldo	Lancaster
Samuel Delarue	5/6/78	7/13/92	hsbndry	Lt. Russell Kellogg	Williamsburg
Mary Kelly	6/4/78	3/10/86	hswfry	Mr. James Hovey	Plymouth
Martha Pierce	6/4/78	1/1/83	hswfry	Mr. John Rogers	Boston
Sarah White	6/25/78	12/24/85	hswfry	Capt. Eliphalet Leonard, Jr.	Easton
John Jerrell	6/25/78	8/4/83	hsbndry	Mr. Joseph Worsley	Shelburne
Abigail Hatch	7/1/78	6/12/90	hswfry	Mr. Henry Prentiss	Boston
James Kelly	7/16/78	1/19/92	hsbndry	Mr. Samuel Fowler	Westfield
James Cook	9/3/78	6/1/93	hsbndry	James Sullivan, Esq.	Groton
Mary Wheeler	10/8/78	3/16/89	hswfry	Mr. Michael Burn	Boston
Margaret Bell	11/5/78	3/12/90	hswfry	Caleb Swan[55]	Boston
Anna Young	11/12/78	4/1/87	hswfry	Mr. John Lee, Jr., Yeo.	Westfield
Elizabeth Dennie	3/2/79	6/9/87	hswfry	Samuel Stillman	Boston
Mary Dickerson	4/20/79	11/30/89	hswfry	Capt. Nehemiah Somes	Boston
Sam Harris	5/3/79	11/1/89	hsbndry	Jesse Joy, Yeo.	Norwich
Francis Jenkins	6/22/79	1/15/92	hsbndry	Mr. Ethen Pomeroy	Hadley
James Taunt	7/20/79	2/4/92	hsbndry	Mr. Oliver Bacon	Bedford
William Dunn	6/7/79	1/7/93	hsbndry	Robert Treat Pain, Esq.	Taunton
Elizabeth Gray	7/8/79	4/2/83	hswfry	Joseph Blake	Hingham
Deborah Cornish	8/5/79	11/1/84	hswfry	Mr. Moses B. Bass	Boston
Thomas Goslin	11/2/79	5/2/93	hsbndry	Mr. Nathan White	Murrayfield
Mary Tate	11/6/79	3/31/92	hswfry	Dr. Godfrey Smith	Newburyport
James Burrows	11/19/79	1/1/93	hsbndry	Mr. Cyrus Lyon	Chesterfield
Ebenezer Scott	12/1/79	4/15/92	hsbndry	Hon. Samuel Freeman, Esq.	Falmouth
Hannah Ross	2/2/80	1/1/89	hswfry	Mr. Samuel Bartlett	Concord

Mary Baister	3/23/80	5/27/90	hswfry	Dr. Joseph Hunt	Concord
Henry Pace	3/25/80	2/14/92	hsbndry	Capt. Isaac Stone	Oakham
Sarah Eatridge	6/24/80	4/20/93	hswfry	Thomas Bell	Colrain
Nathanel Eatridge	6/24/80	11/20/94	hsbndry	Thomas Bell	Colrain
Mary Cox	11/1/80	11/4/86	hswfry	Isaac Parker	Deerfield
Mary Sprague	1/31/81	2/1/90	hswfry	Mr. John Atwater	Westfield
Thomas Sargent	2/7/81	9/21/91	hsbndry	Amos Singletary, Esq.	Sutton
Charles Peirce	2/21/81	2/21/95	hsbndry	Mr. Joseph Stubbins, Jr.	Deerfield
Nancy Harrinton	2/28/81	11/16/87	hswfry	Thomas Huse	Newbury
John Burrell	4/6/81	7/14/86	nvgtn[7]	Capt. Richard Whellen	Boston
Elizabeth Smallidge	4/10/81	1/15/86	hswfry	Mr. Ebenezer Pope	Dorchester
Silvester Rush	4/12/81	12/20/94	hsbndry	Mr. John Barrett, Jr.	Concord
Mary Cross	5/18/81	5/18/91	hswfry	Dr. John Long	Shelburne
Phillipe Low	6/11/81	7/15/84	hswfry	Mr. Swett Hooper	Marblehead
Peggy Cox	9/5/81	2/1/92	hswfry	John White, Gent.	Boston
Mary Scott	10/3/81	7/15/91	hswfry	Rev. Samuel Stilman	Boston
Elizabeth Tailor	12/1/81	5/17/90	hswfry	Capt. George Little	Marshfield
Elizabeth Cook	1/3/82	10/15/88	hswfry	Mr. Edward Tylor	Suffolk Co.
Mary Grainger	1/3/82	2/13/90	hswfry	Lewis de Maresquelle	
Ann Terrall	3/7/82	11/1/90	hswfry	Mr. Edmund Ranger	Boston
Charlette Harris	5/1/82	9/8/87	hswfry	Mr. Asa Bullard	Holliston
Mary Greenough	5/9/82	12/20/91	hswfry	Mr. Edward Walker	Woburn
Margarett Kilgore	6/8/82	7/10/93	hswfry	William Atkins, Esq.	Newburyport
Lydia Brown	7/8/82	7/1/94	hswfry	Mr. Samuel Fowler	Westfield
James Mogan	7/9/82	12/3/95	hsbndry	Bildad Fowler	Westfield
Hannah Lydiett	10/3/82	1/29/91	hswfry	Ebenezer Battelle, Esq.	Dedham
William P. Hodgetts	10/12/82	11/26/95	hsbndry	Mr. Pliny Mosley	Westfield
Edward Winslow	11/14/82	8/15/94	hsbndry	Levi Lincoln, Esq.	Worcester
Mary Patten	2/3/83	7/27/92	hswfry	Capt. John Strong	Pittsfield
James Hogan	2/3/83	12/3/95	hsbndry	Capt. John Strong	Pittsfield
Susannah Peirse	2/12/83	12/29/93	hswfry	Lt. Aaron Fisher	Westhampton
Nancy Murry	2/15/83	2/15/91	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Weld	Roxbury
William Patten	3/7/83	2/6/93	hsbndry	Joseph Henshaw, Esq.	Shrewsbury
James Rogers	3/14/83	3/1/92	hsbndry	Rev. Peter T. Smith	Windham

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Thomas Corban	6/24/83	8/15/93	hsbndry	Capt. John Carpenter	Brimfield
Alexander Sheppard	7/9/83	12/28/95	hsbndry	Col. Francis Shaw, Esq.	Gouldsborough (Me.)
Elizabeth Spencer	8/6/83	7/1/92	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Clements	Boston
John Lasher	8/6/83	10/26/92	nvgtn[7]	Capt. Joseph Cunningham	Boston
Rhodi Negars	9/26/83	10/15/92	hswfry	William Shaw, Gent.	Gouldsborough (Me.)
Mary Hinds	2/2/84	11/24/93	hswfry	Jonathan Hastings	Charlemont
Ebenezer Drake	2/16/84	8/1/91	hsbndry	Elijah Williams, Esq.	W. Stockbridge
Sarah Richardson	2/16/84	5/18/95	hswfry	Elijah Williams, Esq.	W. Stockbridge
Peter Boyer	7/1/84	1/29/96	hsbndry	Elijah Williams, Esq.	W. Stockbridge
Rebecca Hinds	10/6/84	4/7/96	hswfry	Joseph Lynde, Esq.	Worcester
Royall Webb	10/6/84	6/3/91	ppr mkr	Mr. David Bemiss	Watertown
Ann Wilkinson	12/3/84	12/25/87	mntu mkr[61]	Martha Mellens	Boston
Nancy Rea	4/2/85	2/1/96	hswfry	William Simpson	Charlestown
Susannah Lewis	6/4/85	7/27/96	hswfry	Abraham Jackson	Newburyport
Timothy Brown	6/15/85	9/15/98	hsbndry	Mr. Samuel Fowler	Westfield
Marther Clough	6/16/85	8/8/93	hswfry	Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins	Boston
Elizabeth Patten	6/25/85	11/16/95	hswfry	Eleazer Weld	Roxbury
David Riley	8/3/85	12/31/99	hsbndry	Daniel McCarthy	Roxbury
Mary Gordon	8/4/85	9/4/95	hswfry	Daniel McCarthy	Roxbury
Elizabeth Champlin	8/12/85	5/10/97	hswfry	Mr. Nathaniel Pain	Boston
Benjamin Scott	8/16/85	11/15/89	tailor	Mr. William Chandler, Jr.	Salem
Thomas Farmer	8/19/85	1/13/99	hsbndry	Rev. Ezra Ripley	Concord
Charles D. Wallis	10/31/85	1/1/90	hsbndry	Caleb Wilder	Ashburnham
James Gordon	11/10/85	8/21/95	hsbndry	Rev. Justus Forward	Belchertown
John Covel	11/30/85	4/18/93	hsbndry	Mr. Stephen Salisbury[2]	Worcester
Sarah Harris	2/1/86	2/14/89	hswfry[12]	Joshua Bullard	Holliston
Joshua Roberts	2/2/86	2/19/96	prwg mkr[6]	Mr. William Mack	Boston
William Meloney	4/5/86	7/9/01	hsbndry	William Crawford	Bath (Me.)
Samuel Murfey	4/11/86	9/3/97	hsbndry	Mr. Daniel Waldo	Worcester
Samuel Pool	5/1/86	9/26/96	hsbndry	George Partridge, Esq.	Duxborough
Ester Ford	6/7/86	9/18/94	hswfry[12]	Mrs. Martha Pynchon	Salem
Mary Covel	6/21/86	1/6/92	hswfry[12]	Mr. Thomas Child	Falmouth (Me.)
James White	9/8/86	4/3/99	nail mkr	Steaphen Fales	Taunton
Henry Conner	9/14/86	5/1/01	lthr drpr[66]	Mr. Abraham Adams	Boston

William Going	9/30/86	4/3/01	ppr mkr	Jeremiah S. Boies	Milton
Betsey Pool	11/24/86	8/2/97	hswfry[12]	Mr. Stephen Childs	Roxbury
George Hurley	7/28/86	12/3/97	saddler	Aaron Stratton	Littleton
James Warren	1/8/87	1/10/99	pntr-glzr[71]	Jacob Weld	Roxbury
Benoni H. Champlen	1/18/87	4/22/02	farmer	Mr. Aaron Long	Shelburne
John Legally	2/19/87	5/3/99	hsbndry	Mr. Walter Bell	Colerain
Stephen Ingalls	3/7/87	6/1/93	crdwnr	Mr. David Burrell	Boston
John Corbet	4/5/87	7/12/95	crdwnr	Nathan Bradley	Boston
Isaac Corbet	4/5/87	3/10/97	crdwnr	Maj. Eleazor Crofts	Manchester
Peggy Garrison	5/4/87	12/10/93	hswfry[12]	Mr. Joseph McClintoch	Mendon
James Osborn	8/2/87	8/14/99	saddler	Joseph S. Read	Cambridge
Joanna Goodrage	11/1/87	1/15/95	hswfry[12]	Mr. Daniel Billings	Hardwick
Nancey Hinds	11/1/[87]	4/23/97	hswfry[12]	Jonathan Warner, Esq.	Hardwick
Polly LeGally	11/2/87	3/24/95	hswfry[12]	Mr. William Marton	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Thomas Wallis	11/14/87	11/7/98	hsbndry	Isaac Stone, Esq.	Oakham
James Roberts	11/15/87	7/13/02	crpntr	Mr. Joseph Washburn	Leicester
Patty Roberts	1/9/88	6/8/97	hswfry[12]	Mr. Josiah Stratton	Holden
James Taunt	2/6/88	2/4/92	blcksmth	Mr. Elijah Bacon	Bedford
Elizabeth Levett	2/29/88	6/12/96	hswfry[12]	Mr. Timothy Burbank	W. Springfield
Nathaniel Pierce	2/29/88	6/14/00	hsbndry	Mr. Jonathan White	W. Springfield
Catharine Drew	3/18/88	12/26/96	hswfry[12]	Mr. Samuel Nicholson	Charlestown
Abigail Hurley	3/20/88	12/9/97	hswfry[12]	Mr. Joseph Bent	Milton
Rebecca Downe	6/13/88	8/27/94	hswfry[12]	Mr. John Langdon	Pownalborough (Me.)
Samuel Gosling	6/19/88	5/24/97	ropemkr	Mr. Valentine Tedder	Marblehead
George Handol	6/23/88	10/8/02	hsbndry	Mr. John Langdon	Pownalborough (Me.)
Abigail Clough	7/2/88	11/2/96	hswfry[12]	Capt. Henry Skinner	Woolrich (Me.)
Charles Drew	7/3/88	5/26/03	hsbndry	Seth Padleford, Esq.	Taunton
James Gardener	7/14/88	2/15/02	hsbndry	Mr. John Langdon	Pownalborough (Me.)
Sibble Eddy	7/24/88	5/23/94	hswfry[12]	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
Bezaleel Eddy	7/24/88	2/10/01	slmkr[72]	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
Richard LeGalley	7/26/88	11/27/00	clthr[25]	Mr. Abraham Boeman	Portland (Me.)
Ann Cromwell	8/19/88	3/3/97	hswfry[12]	Mr. Josiah Batchelder	Chelsea
Lucy Cuninham	10/2/88	2/1/99	hswfry[12]	Samuel Cutter	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Jane Sigourney	10/16/88	8/1/95	hswfry[12]	Joseph Williams	Springfield
Ann Ethredge	10/29/88	12/25/94	hswfry[12]	William Coffin[27]	Gloucester

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James White[32]	1/8/89	4/3/99	nailmkr	Mr. Benjamin Bussey	Dedham
William LeGalley	1/29/89	11/24/03	hsbndry	Thomas Ives, Esq.	Gt. Barrington
Mary Crane	2/10/89	10/15/96	hswfry[12]	Thomas Baker	Gt. Barrington
John Willit	3/13/89	5/20/01	tanner	Samuel D. Munson	Truro
James Taunt	4/1/89	2/4/92	tanner	John Bacon	Billerica
Charles de St. Pree	4/11/89	6/21/04	shmkng	Mr. Ezekiel Allen	Manchester
Mathew Wakefeild	6/4/89	12/31/01	hsbndry	Samuel Fowler, Esq.	Westfield
Sarah Dunke	6/17/89	6/15/99	hswfry[12]	Mr. Jonathan Rawson	Braintree
Jane [Le] Galley	7/10/89	10/22/97	hswfry[12]	Thomas Smith, Esq.	Hardwick
Mary Godard	7/16/89	8/13/99	hswfry[12]	Abraham Williams, Esq.	Sandwich
Abigail Peirce	8/8/89	2/6/00	hswfry[12]	Maj. John Polascosky	Pownalborough (Me.)
John Burkhart	9/17/89	10/5/98	ropemkr	Mr. Valentine Tedder	Marblehead
Thomas Ethridg	10/7/89	8/15/02	tailor	Mr. Samuel Butts	Portland (Me.)
Rhode Negars	10/16/89	10/15/92	hswfry[12]	Mr. Samuel Joy	Goldsborough (Me.)
John Richards	11/14/89	5/29/02	hsbndry	John Sprague, Esq.	Worcester Co.
Ann Cromwell[73]	1/12/90	3/3/97	hswfry[12]	Richard Hunnewell, Esq.	Penobscot (Me.)
Nelson Masterson[74]	1/15/90	11/15/04	hsbndry	Richard Hunnewell, Esq.	Penobscot (Me.)
Luckey Waterman	2/2/90	2/20/00	hswfry[12]	Benjamin Beale, Esq.	Dorchester
Johanneh Spooner	2/15/90	8/2/99	hswfry[12]	Simon Larned, Esq.	Pittsfield
Stephen Ingalls	3/3/90	6/13/93	crdwnr	Mr. David Lewis	Boston
John Willet	4/15/90	5/15/02	shpwrght	Mr. John Trowbridge	Waldoborough (Me.)
Charles Tolly	5/10/90	11/8/03	hsbndry	Alexander Danby	Mansfield
Jeremiah Gray	7/14/90	3/27/02	crdwnr	Mr. Jonathan Rawson	Braintree
Sarah [Le] Gally	8/?/90	8/30/00	hswfry[12]	Moses Hall	Charlestown
James Matthews	8/4/90	12/27/02	hsbndry	Col. Edmund Heard	Lancaster
Mary Nuttige	8/10/90	8/4/00	hswfry	Hezekiah Ripley	Kingston
Mary Henly	8/14/90	5/8/99	hswfry	Maj. Caleb Gibbs	Baxter
William Dunn	9/6/90	1/7/93	tanner[39]	Mr. Jonathan Bemis	Watertown
Ann Trainhorne	11/2/90	8/5/02	hswfry	Capt. William W. Stevens	Charlestown
Nathanael Ingersol	11/11/90	3/18/06	potter	Artemas Cox	Brunswick (Me.)
William Forssey	12/21/90	7/20/02	cbntmkr	Samuel Sargeant	Leicester
John Brown	1/4/91	5/23/07	hsbndry	Barzillas Banister	Goshen
Robert Carr	1/6/91	12/24/96	hsbndry	Capt. John Stone	Concord
Eleanor Cox	2/4/91	4/1/99	hswfry	Hadijah Bayles	Brighton

Mary Pool	2/14/91	10/10/02	hswfry	Mr. Ebenezer Gee	Westhampton
Sarah Man	4/7/91	2/6/03	hswfry	Mr. Jeremiah Whittemore	Spencer
George Tolly	5/28/91	7/4/01	hsbndry	Dr. Ebenezer Alden	Braintree
Ann Murphey	7/4/91	4/3/98	hswfry	William Blaney	Roxbury
Henry E. Mahew	7/7/91	7/6/04	hsbndry	Mr. John Rowe, Jr.	Sunderland
Elizabeth Burkhart	7/22/91	1/15/04	hswfry	Mr. William Chase	Freeport
Katharine Voice	9/10/91	7/8/02	hswfry	Mr. James Tukesbury	Chelsea
Betsy Peirce	9/10/91	2/27/01	hswfry	Mr. David Belcher	Chelsea
Nancy Rea	10/17/91	2/1/96	hswfry	Mr. John Bridge	Pownalborough (Me.)
Sally C. Russell	10/25/91	11/8/02	hswfry[12]	David Blunt	Andover
Thomas Hinds	10/25/91	11/10/03	hsbndry	David Blunt	Andover
Hannah Lukesbury	11/29/91	11/18/01	hswfry	Hon. William Sever	Kingston
Mary Etheridge	12/15/91	11/8/02	hswfry	Dr. Jonathan Davies	Roxbury
William Stephens	1/31/92	2/1/05	farmer	Capt. Samuel Baldwin	Windsor
Samuel Whitmore	2/14/92	6/7/06	hsbndry	Lazarus LeBaron	Sutton
James Brown	2/17/92	10/8/07	farmer	John Stephenson, Jr.	Chesterfield
Ann Farrier	2/23/92	2/4/01	hswfry	John Barrett	Northfield
Susanna Foster	3/17/92	4/14/03	hswfry	Mr. George Longley	Boston
Sarah Loring	3/30/92	11/20/98	hswfry	Mr. David Tyler	Boston
John Battist	4/4/92	4/4/06	crdwnr	Adam Blackman	Stoughton
Henry Woodman	4/12/92	3/15/06	farmer	Capt. Samuel Hinckley	Brookfield
Esther Ford	4/12/92	9/18/94	hswfry	Capt. Samuel Hinckley	Brookfield
Peter Hunnewe[ll]	5/2/92	12/27/02	barber	Mr. Adren Webb	Worcester
Sarah McKinsey	5/16/92	8/1/03	hswfry[12]	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
Nicholas Dulash	5/16/92	7/1/07	twn mfg[75]	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
John Franks	5/22/92	4/15/04	farmer	Mr. Gabriel Titterton	Roxbury
William Ethridge	6/7/92	7/6/07	farmer	Dr. William Kittridge	Conway
Mary Delay	6/13/92	5/25/02	hswfry	Col. Thomas Carpenter	Rehobeth
Ann Trainhorn	6/16/92	8/5/02	hswfry	William Martin	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Mary Gorden	6/20/92	9/4/95	hswfry	Hon. Daniel Howard, Esq.	Bridgewater
Joseph Whitmore	8/2/92	10/10/03	farmer	James Avery, Esq.	Machias (Me.)
Elizabeth Farrier	8/18/92	4/13/05	hswfry	Hon. Shearjushub Bourne	Barnstable
John Corbet	10/3/92	7/12/95	crdwnr	Ozias Morse	Boston
Thomas Farmer	10/15/92	1/13/99	blcksmth	Mr. Joshua Jones	Concord
Roseanah Dawson	11/28/92	4/18/99	hswfry	Col. John May	Portland (Me.)

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
Ann Morris	1/8/93	7/23/99	hswfry	Lt. Samuel Wilcox	Partridgefield
Mary Buckley	1/8/93	4/25/01	hswfry	Lt. Samuel Wilcox	Partridgefield
Ebenezer Silvester	3/22/93	3/28/07	cooper	Capt. Francis Carr	Haverhill
John Wright	3/27/93	3/31/07	farmer	Lt. James Hathway	Spencer
William Gray	4/3/93	1/27/00	blcksmth	Mr. Jeremiah Bulfinch	Boston
Mary Franks	4/6/93	2/16/03	hswfry	David Howe	Penobscot (Me.)
Sarah Tuckerman	4/25/93	1/?/04	hswfry	Mr. Calvin Brett	Easton
Sophia Trann [?]	4/29/93	12/2/97	hswfry	Mr. Samuel Sprague	Charlestown
Bartholomew Tuckerman	5/?/93	1/6/09	twn mfg[75]	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
James Keth	5/2/93	3/22/08	tailor	Benjamin Butman	Worcester
Thomas Holden	5/5/93	7/16/07	cooper	Mr. Eleazor Atwood, Jr.	Wellfleet
Sarah Cleverly	5/14/93	1/31/01	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
Julia A. Scriever	5/14/93	1/15/06	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
Charlotte Williams	5/14/93	12/26/06	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Hopkins	Portland (Me.)
George Tolly	5/22/93	7/4/01	ppr mkr	Capt. Hugh McLain	Milton
Ann Molten	5/24/93	1/15/03	hswfry	Mr. Samuel Buel	Medford
William Dun Melona	6/4/93	1/27/01	apthcry[76]	Dr. William Jackson	Boston
Ann Brimmer	6/6/93	2/1/96	hswfry	Capt. Francis Butler	Boston
Charlotte Silvester	6/7/93	6/11/05	hswfry	Mrs. Elizabeth Leighton[40]	Boston
Mary Peirce	6/14/93	7/19/04	hswfry	William Lithgow	Georgetown (Me.)
Charlotte Davis	6/21/93	3/18/03	hswfry	Samuel Fowler, Esq.	Westfield
Susanna Grear	8/12/93	11/27/03	hswfry	Mr. Elias Tuckerman	Boston
Ann Cooney	8/19/93	10/31/04	hswfry	Mr. Ebenezer Seaver	Roxbury
Eunice Eddy	8/19/93	6/15/03	hswfry	Allen Drinkwater	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Isaac Davies	9/11/93	9/21/06	farmer	George Erskin	Baker Town (Me.)
Esther Henly	9/21/93	9/22/02	hswfry[12]	Rev. Benjamin Chapman	Granby
Elizabeth Bennet	10/4/93	11/15/05	hswfry	Mr. Levi Shepherd	Northampton
Polly Dulgar	11/26/93	12/25/05	hswfry	John Sprague, Esq.	Lancaster
John Ayers	1/18/94	4/21/08	farmer	Mr. Andrew Phelps	Northampton
William Penney	2/6/94	2/26/07	crdwnr	Lt. Francis Phillips	Malden
Ann Hartly	2/14/94	3/5/07	hswfry	Mrs. Isabella Hadaway	Boston
William Lewis	3/1/94	7/26/06	farmer	Mr. Daniel Russell	Hadley
Peggy Mason	4/2/94	9/15/96	hswfry	John Codman, Esq.	Boston
George Washington	4/4/94	4/15/09	farmer	Levi Hathway	Spencer

[illegible] Loring	4/9/94	11/24/98	baker	Mr. John Tuckerman	Boston
Elizabeth Meperson (?)	4/10/94	8/14/98	hswfry	Mr. Thomas Cummings	Portland (Me.)
William Longly	4/10/94	8/1/98	baker	Mr. Jonathan Hilton	Boston
Polly Meelenar	4/30/94	4/8/99	hswfry	Col. Elijah Kent	Granby
Henry Erving	5/10/94	8/14/05	turner	Mr. John Mears	Bristol
Elizabeth Garrow	6/?/94	7/15/02	hswfry	Mr. Solomon Phelps	Westfield
William Donner	6/24/94	1/7/09	farmer	William Martin, Esq.	N. Yarmouth (Me.)
Joseph Russell	6/25/94	7/24/09	farmer	Joseph Lyman	Westfield
John Morris	7/4/94	7/12/10	farmer	Rev. Jonathan Ellis	Topsham
James Henley	7/21/94	3/22/09	gldsmth	Mr. Freeman Hinckley	Barnstable
Jane [Le?] Gally	9/1/94	10/22/97	hswfry[12]	Jonathan L. Austin, Esq.	Boston
Elizabeth Larence	9/3/94	3/18/01	hswfry	William Henderson	Cushing
William Ryan	9/11/94	12/30/10	crptr	Lt. James Hathway	Spencer
Lavinia Richardson	9/19/94	8/1/06	hswfry	Mr. John Watson	Plymouth
Susanna Rowen	9/27/94	12/6/98	hswfry	Mr. Ambrose Harrison	Boston
Susanna Farmer	9/30/94	4/27/01	hswfry	John Austin	Boston
George Whaland	12/3/94	6/14/03	farmer	Mr. Gulliver Winchester	Brookline
Elizabeth Peirce	12/18/94	2/27/01	hswfry	John Winslow, Esq.	Boston
William Gorden	1/1/95	6/1/08	crdwnr	Mr. Asa Ballard	Holliston
Sarah [Le?] Gally	1/7/95	8/30/00	hswfry	Mr. John Dyer[33]	Boston
Christopher Bell, Jr.	1/10/95	10/10/03	nvgtn[7]	Dr. Eliakim Morse	Boston
Ann Hartly	1/20/95	3/5/07	hswfry	Mr. Dwight Dean	Mansfield
Mary Jones	1/22/95	5/8/03	hswfry	Robert Morgan	Spencer
Noble Spencer	1/27/95	8/21/10	farmer	Richard Hunewell, Jr., Esq.	Penobscot (Me.)
Sarah Harris	5/6/95	3/16/07	hswfry	Dr. John Bartlett, Jr.	Roxbury
Sarah Dunken	6/5/95	6/15/99	hswfry	Mr. Samuel Hinckley	Brookfield
Elizabeth Thompson	6/8/95	9/14/07	hswfry	Rev. Bezaleel Shaw	Sherbourn
Susanna Rowen	7/1/95	12/6/98	hswfry	Joseph Newall	Boston
Abigail Adams	7/30/95	11/25/07	hswfry	Capt. Crowell Hatch	Roxbury
Mary Ballard	8/6/95	2/14/06	hswfry	Dr. Daniel Fogg	Braintree
James Gordon	8/25/95	12/23/10	farmer	Mr. Benjamin Allen	Tisbury
Charlotte Gordon	9/1/95	9/1/05	hswfry[12]	Mr. David Tyler[60]	Boston
Charles Tolly	11/25/95	11/8/03	farmer	Rev. Roland Green	Mansfield
Samuel Gordon	3/17/96	5/14/11	farmer	Elisha Snow, Jr.	Truro
Thomas McKenzie[32]	4/30/96	8/23/08	baker	Mr. Benjamin Wallcut	Nantucket

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
William Marstins	5/30/96	4/19/12	farmer	Rev. Jonathan Burr	Sandwich
Mary Marstins	5/30/96	4/19/09	hswfry[12]	Rev. Jonathan Burr	Sandwich
Sarah Lewis	6/24/96	7/8/08	hswfry[12]	Hon. Daniel Davis, Esq.	Portland (Me.)
Dublin Ba[d]ger[32]	8/12/96	3/19/12		Mr. Nathaniel Ruggles, Gent.	Roxbury
Betsy Allen	8/31/96	5/31/07	hswfry[12]	Mrs. Mary Thacher	Cambridge
Rose Ba[d]ger[32]	9/7/96	1/29/06	hswfry[12]	William Farnham, Esq.	Newburyport
Nathaniel Adams	10/1/96	12/5/12	farmer	Dr. Ebenezer Emerson	Topsham
Charles Tolly	11/19/96	11/8/03	crdwnr	Asa Newcomb	Norton
George Farrier	11/29/96	9/6/11	farmer	Col. John Sale, Jr.	Chelsea
Jacob Cole	4/10/97	6/15/03	tailor	Mr. Humphrey Clark[8]	Boston
John Foalke	4/15/97	12/9/11	baker	Mr. Jonathan Call[77]	Newburyport
Henry P. Clark	4/18/97	5/27/13	farmer	Mr. Josiah Smallige	Edem
Michael Scollay	4/21/97	11/5/10	farmer	Capt. Charles Mustard	Topsham
Mary Webber	5/5/97	4/16/04	hswfry[12]	Mr. Humphrey Clark[8]	Boston
William Badger[32]	6/1/97	6/1/04	mst mkr[78]	Mr. Joseph Hoyt	Newburyport
Ephraim S. Genddell	8/16/97	6/14/11		Mr. John G. Holland	Boston
James Mathews	9/5/97	12/27/02	whlwrght	Mr. Lemuel Pierce	Roxbury
John Holden	10/26/97	1/21/11	farmer	James Daten, Jr.	Plymouth
Joseph Anderson	10/27/97	3/15/13	farmer	Mr. James Brooks	Pepperell
Sarah Gordan	12/16/97	4/14/10	hswfry[12]	Mr. Joseph Blaney	Boston
Sophia Ridgeway[74]	12/26/97	12/26/04	hswfry[12]	Mr. Jonathan Wild	Walpole
Richard [Le?] Galley	12/30/97	11/25/01	painter	Mr. Daniel Wellington[79]	Newburyport
Permelia Badger[32]	1/24/98	7/12/11	hswfry[12]	Robert Hichborn, Esq.	Prospect (Me.)
John[80]	3/25/98	3/25/10		Capt. Ebenezer Dorr, Esq.	Boston
Bill[80]	3/25/98	3/25/06		Capt. Ebenezer Dorr, Esq.	Boston
Betsy Cowen	5/28/98	2/1/06	hswfry[12]	Mr. Andrew Cunningham, Gent.	Boston
William Pike	5/28/98	3/24/13	farmer	Mr. Caleb Perry	Sandwich
James Roberts	6/6/98	7/13/02	blcksmth	Mr. Samuel Trask	Leicester
Cornelius Hillman	7/5/98	4/14/08	farmer	Mr. Edward Durant, Gent.	Fitchburg
Catharine Ramsdell	7/20/98	7/20/10	hswfry[12]	Mr. Ebenezer Payne	Camden
Sukey Panot	8/4/98	4/17/02	hswfry[12]	Mr. Samuel Kellogg, Gent.	Westfield
Barzellai Eddy	10/10/98	2/10/01	nvgtn[7]	Capt. Joshua Knight	Portland (Me.)
Sarah [Le?] Galley	11/7/98	8/16/00	hswfry[12]	Benjamin Austin, Jr., Esq.	Boston
John McKenzie	12/6/98	3/5/14	ropemkr[38]	Mr. Ezra Weston, Jr.	Duxborough

Betsy Bradlee	1/23/99	10/20/09	hswfry[12]	Luke Brown, Esq.	Hardwick
James Murry	2/20/99	6/25/14	farmer	Mr. Levi Hathway	Spencer
John Bernard	3/2/99	7/15/04	cooper	Mr. John Dix	Littleton
Sophia Smith	3/26/99	7/10/10	hswfry[12]	Mr. William Patton	Roxbury
Joseph Ramsdale	4/1/99	7/17/14	farmer	Mr. David Weld, Gent.	Roxbury
Mary Howard	4/3/99	1/10/05	hswfry[12]	Mr. Osgood Carleton	Boston
Mary Smith[32]	4/13/99	1/1/12	hswfry[12]	Mr. Nathaniel Ruggles, Gent.	Roxbury
Cornelius O. Quill	5/1/99	5/10/14	farmer	Mr. John Gardner	Leominster
William Roges	5/9/99	10/4/14	farmer	Mr. John Stearns	Waltham
Thomas Furr	5/29/99	3/10/11	farmer	Ebenezer Storer, Gent.	Portland (Me.)
Nancy Gair	6/3/99	3/20/12	hswfry[12]	Mr. Ebenezer Storer, Gent.	Portland (Me.)
John Healy	6/11/99	5/1/14	hswrght	Thomas Clement, Gent.	Boston
Thomas Benall	6/20/99	3/31/15	farmer	Mr. Mark Hatch, Gent.	Castine
Samuel Gaines	6/22/99	12/11/07	feltmkr	Mr. John Swift, Gent.	Milton
Mary Ann Sharp	6/29/99	11/30/10	hswfry[12]	Mr. Warren Hall, Gent.	Buckston
Barbara Blackburn	11/3/99[?]	12/14/04	hswfry[12]	Capt. John Hill	Boston
Jeremiah Gray	12/3/99[?]	3/3/03	crdwnr	Mr. Joseph Fuller	Lynn
Ruth Newall[32]	2/3/00	3/5/07	hswfry[12]	Caesar Spear[32]	Boston
Ann Trayhorn	4/7/00	8/4/02	hswfry	Stephen March, Esq.	Union
Mary Belknap	4/15/00	4/15/13	hswfry[12]	Mr. Samuel Blugge[2]	Dorchester
Charlotte Foalke	8/6/00	2/16/12	hswfry[21]	John Boyle, Esq.	Boston
George Monk	9/26/00	3/1/15	farmer	Jonathan Warner, Esq.	Hardwick
Lewis Smith[32]	1/1/01	1/1/16	farmer	Mr. James Price	Concord
Theodore Smith	1/7/01	4/26/16	farmer	Henry Smith	Dedham
Jacob Blackburn	3/27/01	8/27/09	farmer	Stephen Penniman, Esq.	Braintree
Catharine Foalke	5/11/01	6/2/06	hswfry	Capt. William G. Weld	Roxbury
Andrew Gardner, Jr.	7/18/01	6/18/17	tnnr,[13] crrr[81]	Mr. Ebenezer Crocker, Jr.	Barnstable
James Baker	9/16/01	5/21/17	farmer	Mr. Luke Lambard, Jr.	Bath (Me.)
Silas Ramsdale	10/21/01	3/28/12	ropemkr	Mr. Ezra Weston	Duxborough
Sally Anderson	10/28/01	10/14/13	hswfry[12]	William Wetmore, Esq.	Penobscot (Me.)
Eloner Holley	11/4/01	3/17/14	hswfry[12]	Miss Anna Sampson	Kingston
Sally Davis	11/13/01	11/19/13	hswfry[12]	Mr. George Russell	Kingston
Jane Marmior	11/24/01	11/24/14	hswfry[12]	John Sale, Jr., Esq.	Chelsea
John Marmior	12/6/01	3/25/16	farmer	Mr. Joshua Palmer	Camden

Apprentice	*Date Bound*	*Date Free*	*Trade*	*Master*	*Town*
John Burdekin	12/28/01	3/11/16	farmer	Mr. Chester Bardwell	Whateley
Joseph Robinson	12/31/01	5/15/16	farmer	Jotham Loring, Esq.	Duxborough
Sarah Gordan	1/25/02	4/14/10	hswfry[12]	Dr. John Bartlet	Roxbury
Joseph Burdekin	2/6/02	3/11/13	farmer	William Shaw, Esq.	Quincy
Benjamin Wild	3/27/02	4/6/16	farmer	Mr. Barnabas Myrick	Hebron
Cornelius Hillman	4/3/02	4/14/08	farmer	Mr. Nathan Bucknam, Gent.	Falmouth
William Higgins	4/15/02	4/15/15	farmer	Samuel Cookson, Esq.	Roxbury
Elias Mongo	4/16/02	11/23/17	farmer	Phineas Newhall, Esq.	Leicester
Charles Chapman	4/17/02	12/20/16	farmer	Aaron Forbes, Esq.	Brookfield
James Henly	5/10/02	3/22/09	blcksmth	Capt. Isaac Lothrop	Barnstable
Barnaby Penny	7/2/02	6/4/12	farmer	Samuel Sewall, Esq.	Marblehead
John Springfield	7/21/02	1/29/17	farmer	Mr. Elijah Winslow, Gent.	Penobscot (Me.)
Samuel Malborn[32]	8/13/02	3/1/18	farmer	William Cunningham, Esq.	Lunenburg
Bridget Kelley	11/4/02	4/24/12	hswfry[12]	Samuel Adams[14]	Boston
Peter Marmior	11/8/02	4/8/18	farmer	Mr. Ezra Smith	Topsham
Margaret Holley	12/15/02	12/25/16	hswfry[12]	Mr. Daniel Seman	Charlestown
George Duglas	3/1/03	12/18/18	hswrght[82]	Mr. Asa Hill	Reading
Thomas Davidson	3/10/03	2/10/18	farmer	Mr. Minott Thayer	Braintree
Polly Spring	3/10/03	3/10/06	hswfry[12]	Mr. Charles Robbins	Watertown
William Higgins	4/8/03	4/15/15	farmer	Mr. James Carter, Esq.	Sudbury
Hannah Higgins	4/12/03	6/28/07	hswfry[12]	[Sheary?] Bourne, Esq.	Boston
John Hollis	4/23/03	8/15/18	farmer	William White, Esq.	Rutland
John Stretch	10/3/03	10/1/14	farmer	George S. Johannot, Esq.	Beverly
John Clarke	10/11/03	11/14/13	farmer	Mr. Patrick Kincaid	Brunswick (Me.)
Jacob Eaton	10/29/03	11/18/17	hatter	John Capen[83]	Canton
Sally Newell	11/2/03	8/26/12	hswfry[12]	Mr. Stephen Cook	Watertown
James Bear	11/17/03	3/30/17	farmer	John Gray, Esq.	Dorchester
Redman Morris	12/6/03	2/2/18	pntr & glzr[71]	Mr. Horatio G. Quincy	Portland (Me.)
Patrick Maley	12/8/03	4/5/21	shpcrpntr	Capt. Nehemiah Lovell	Barnstable
Benjamin Ambury	1/2/04	3/26/16	farmer	Mr. Moses Billings, Gent.	Dorchester
Catharine Hay	1/4/04	3/20/15	hswfry[12]	Capt. Edward Tyler	Boston
Eliza Ambrury	1/12/04	1/12/08	hswfry[12]	Mr. Hezekiah French, Gent.	Lincolnville (Me.)
Ruth Newell[32]	1/17/04	2/2/08	hswfry[12]	Mr. Josiah Snell[3]	Bridgewater
Lydia Southward	2/1/04	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

John L. Dodge	2/21/04	9/17/20	farmer	Silas Penniman	Reading
Charlotte Curtis	3/19/04	9/21/14	hswfry[12]	William Barrett	Malden
John Lawrence	4/2/04	1/15/21		Phineas Nickerson	Provincetown
George W.[84] Mann	4/4/04	5/18/20	farmer	Mr. David Parker, Jr.	Reading
John A.[85] Mann	4/6/04	5/18/20	farmer	Mr. David Parker, Jr.	Reading
John Penrow	4/13/04	2/10/21	farmer	Daniel P. Upton, Esq.	Eastport
Mary Drew	5/14/04	1/18/18	hswfry[12]	Luther Richardson, Esq.	Roxbury
Henry Muffy	6/5/04	12/15/20	farmer	Mr. John Harris	Bath
John Hatch	12/26/04	7/1/14	ppr mkr	Mr. William Sumner, Gent.	Dorchester
John Hale	1/16/05	12/25/09	farmer	Mr. Elisha Tambling	Bellingham
Patrick Maley	1/24/05	4/5/21	farmer	Mr. Nehemiah Hayward, Gent.	Andover
Josiah Swan	2/5/05	2/5/22	farmer	Mr. Jeremiah Mosley	Westfield
Maynard Chew	7/6/05	6/26/16	farmer	William Tyng, Esq.	Gorham
Joseph Cook	7/17/05	9/14/20	farmer	John Freeman, Esq.	Sandwich
Thomas Burdekin	7/30/05	3/3/17	crdwnr	Ralph Arnold	Braintree
Margaret Chew	9/4/05	12/25/09	hswfry[12]	William Tyng, Esq.	Gorham
Joseph Kidder	10/2/05	10/2/16	farmer	Mr. John Holton	Booth Bay (Me.)
Sally Johnson[32]	10/9/05	10/9/19	hswfry[12]	Mrs. Esther Clark	Boston
Jabez Barrow	12/13/05	7/2/20	farmer	Mr. James Chase	Freeport (Me.)

NOTES

1. Miller
2. Merchant
3. Blacksmith
4. Husbandman or farmer
5. Victualler
6. Peruke maker, wig maker, or perriwig maker
7. Navigation, and mariner or seaman
8. Tailor
9. Distiller
10. Twine line spinner
11. Cordwainer, shoemaker
12. Reading, writing, *and* ciphering
13. Tanner
14. Cabinet maker
15. Skinner
16. Mariner
17. And founder
18. Trader
19. Joiner
20. Feltmaker
21. Barber, hair cutter
22. And drum maker
23. Indentures not signed
24. Housewright
25. Clothier
26. Stationer
27. Physician
28. Reading only
29. Stone cutter
30. Bricklayer
31. Shopkeeper
32. Negro
33. Saddler
34. Sailmaker
35. Mason
36. Japanner
37. Farrier
38. And farming
39. No formal education
40. Widow
41. Knit, sew, and spin
42. Silversmith
43. Fisherman
44. Ropemaker
45. Schoolmaster
46. Wheelwright
47. Shoreman
48. Glazier
49. Whaler
50. Indenture not completed; no recommendation received
51. Tallow chandler. Master agreed to teach his apprentice how to make spermacetti candles too, "but it is to be understood that the Mystery of refining the Sperma Cati I do not oblige myself to do."
52. And chairmaker
53. Boat builder
54. Currier
55. Brazier
56. Miller
57. Or cash instead of trade
58. Cardmaker
59. Weaver
60. Goldsmith
61. Mantua or manteau maker
62. Shipwright
63. Ship joiner
64. Single woman
65. Unsigned and undated
66. Leather draper
67. Tobacconist and snuff maker
68. Grocer
69. Blockmaker
70. Tobacconist
71. Painter-glazier
72. Sail cloth making and twine spinning
73. *Alias* Patience Farris
74. Mulatto
75. Twine and Duck manufacturing
76. Apothecary
77. Baker
78. Mast and spar maker
79. Painter
80. Indian
81. Tanner
82. Teaching of trade canceled in favor of cash because master moved to countryside where trade could not be practiced.
83. Hatter
84. Washington
85. Adams

April Meeting, 1962

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 April 1962, at half after eight o'clock in the evening, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Special Meeting in March were read and approved.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ELLIOTT PERKINS and STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. JOHN BRYANT PAINE, Jr., and EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL and ALEXANDER WHITESIDE WILLIAMS.

Mr. JERE R. DANIELL read a paper entitled "Politics and Society in Revolutionary New Hampshire."

October Meeting, 1962

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 18 October 1962, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in April were read and approved.

Mr. FREDERICK G. EMMISON, a Corresponding Member in honor of whose presence in the United States the meeting was held, spoke on the work of the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, England, where he is County Archivist.

Annual Meeting
November, 1962

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 15 November 1962. At the dinner which preceded the meeting, the Reverend RICHARD D. PIERCE said grace.

The President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, called the meeting to order at half after eight o'clock. Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read the Mayflower Compact.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Report of the Council

IN the late nineteen twenties the Colonial Society settled into a pattern of four meetings a year: the annual dinner in November, afternoon meetings in December and February, and an evening one in April. Accordingly on 21 December 1961, I spoke on the work of the Boston Historical Conservation Committee; on 15 February 1962 Bruce Sinclair described the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum in North Andover, of which he is director, and on 26 April Jere R. Daniell read a paper on "Politics and Society in Revolutionary New Hampshire." Two additional meetings were held to take advantage of the presence in Boston of distant members. On 15 March Lawrence W. Towner, then Editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly* at Williamsburg and now Director of the Newberry Library in Chicago spoke on "Apprenticing of Poor Children in Eighteenth-Century Boston," while on 18 October a special meeting was held in honor of F. G. Emmison, County Archivist of Essex, who spoke on the work of the Essex Record Office.

During the year LEO FLAHERTY of the Massachusetts Archives, and the Rt. Rev. Msgr. FRANCIS J. LALLY, Editor of *The Pilot*, were elected Resident Members. The Reverend CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, Minister-Emeritus of the First Church of Boston and a Resident Member since 29 February 1908, died on 23 September 1962 at the age of 89. From 1909 to 1927 Dr. Park was Corresponding Secretary of the Society; only a few years ago he read an admirable paper on the mistreatment of Quakers in seventeenth-century Boston. We have lost two non-resident members: CHANDLER BULLOCK of Worcester, long Treasurer of the American

Antiquarian Society, elected in 1933, died on 2 March 1962, aged 90, and EDWARD ALLEN WHITNEY of Augusta, Maine, the first Master of Kirkland House, a member of this Society since 1931. GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, elected an Associate Member in 1929 and transferred to Honorary Membership in 1934, died at Cambridge, England, in August.

Election to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts almost carries with it the promise of longevity. Trevelyan was a mere 86 at the time of his death; Dr. Park and Chandler Bullock were 89. But we still have on our list of honorary members Samuel Williston, first elected in 1893 who has passed the century mark, while the Massachusetts Historical Society recently lost its only centenarian, Godfrey Lowell Cabot. The list of resident members is headed by Frederic Haines Curtiss, elected in 1899. Then comes Francis Apthorp Foster, elected in 1902. With the death of Dr. Park, the next in seniority are Clarence Brigham, Fritz Robinson, and Sam Morison, who this year completed half a century as members of the Society. We have always tried to follow Mr. Edes's principle of "catch 'em young," a corollary of which is "keep 'em long."

The chief event of the year was the publication of Richard Pierce's great edition of *The Records of the First Church in Boston 1630-1868*, which comprises volumes 39, 40, and 41 of our *Publications*. Our founder, H. H. Edes, must have leaped for joy in his grave at the appearance of these records, so painstakingly edited and so handsomely printed. The Treasurer's report this year will show a lean and hungry look in consequence, but this is to be expected, for our practice has long been to accumulate income in certain off years against heavy printing bills in others. During my fifteen years as editor, two volumes of *Transactions* and five volumes of *Collections* have been issued, which is the equivalent of a volume every other year. Volumes 42 and 43, which will contain *Transactions* down to 1962, are now entirely in type and will shortly go into page proof. They will further contribute to the deficit in 1963, but they will also bring us up-to-date and permit a brief spell of financial recuperation with a clear conscience. The Society has also continued its co-sponsorship of the *New England Quarterly*.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 30 September 1962.

Statement of Assets and Funds, 30 September 1962

ASSETS

Cash:		
Principal	$36,053	
Income	*10,587*	$25,466
Savings Bank Deposit		4,380
Savings and Loan Association Deposits		40,000
Investments at Book Value:		
Bonds (Market Value $266,567)		269,353
Stocks (Market Value $364,692)		97,871
Total Assets		$437,070

FUNDS

Principal Funds	$447,657
Income (deficit)	*10,587*
Total Funds	$437,070

Income Cash Receipts and Disbursements

Balance of Income Cash, 30 September 1961		*$ 1,315*
RECEIPTS:		
Dividends	$12,018	
Interest	12,450	
Annual Assessments	905	
Sale of Publications	1,986	
Gifts to Income	1,401	28,760
Total Receipts of Income		$27,445
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Publications:		
New England Quarterly	$ 3,500	
Volumes 39–41	21,712	
Volume 42	1,651	
Expenses of 87 Mount Vernon Street Property:		
Renovations, maintenance and furnishings	2,113	
Heat and light	753	
Insurance	437	

Telephone and telegraph	233	
Water	120	
Editor's Salary and Expense	1,125	
Secretarial Expense	1,400	
Annual Dinner	1,104	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	407	
Auditing and Accounting Services	400	
Miscellaneous Supplies and Expenses	99	
Gifts	65	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		$35,120
BALANCE OF INCOME, 30 SEPTEMBER 1962		$ 7,675
TRANSFERS TO PRINCIPAL FUNDS:		
Sarah Louise Edes Fund	$2,576	
Albert Matthews Fund	336	2,912
INCOME CASH OVERDRAFT, 30 SEPTEMBER 1962		$10,587

Mr. JOHN BRYANT PAINE, Jr., read the report of the Auditing Committee, indicating that they had employed the firm of Messrs. Arthur Young and Company to make an audit of the accounts and to examine the securities, and presented the report of that firm to the meeting.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON
Vice-Presidents SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD
Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY
Corresponding Secretary DAVID BRITTON LITTLE
Treasurer CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND
Member of the Council for Three Years JOHN PETERSEN ELDER

At the conclusion of the business meeting, Mr. R. A. SKELTON, Superintendent of the Map Room, British Museum, and a Corresponding Member, then addressed the Society.

December Meeting, 1962

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 20 December 1962, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. SINCLAIR HAMILTON HITCHINGS read a paper entitled "The Boston Album, 1670–1727."

February Meeting, 1963

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Wednesday, 20 February 1963, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The records of the Stated Meeting in December were read and approved.

Mr. SINCLAIR HAMILTON HITCHINGS of Boston, Mr. J. BRUCE SINCLAIR of North Andover, and Mr. CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY of Sturbridge were elected to Resident Membership in the Society.

Messrs. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON and R. A. SKELTON discussed the Cabot voyages of 1497–1498 in the light of James A. Williamson's recent book. Beginning with the very few documented facts, the two speakers presented from somewhat different points of view their opinions on the relative reliability of the documents and maps.

March Meeting, 1963

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held at its House, No. 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 21 March 1963, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Mr. CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, in the chair.

The minutes of the Stated Meeting in February were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Messrs. SINCLAIR HAMILTON HITCHINGS, J. BRUCE SINCLAIR, and CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY accepting election to Resident Membership.

Mr. ROBERT ARNOLD FEER of Wellesley and Mr. LAWRENCE KINVIN WROTH of Cambridge were elected to Resident Membership. Professor DAVID BEERS QUINN of Liverpool was elected to Corresponding Membership. Mr. JAMES ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON of Chichester, Sussex, a Corresponding Member since 1937, was transferred to Honorary Membership in the Society.

Mr. BENJAMIN WOODS LABAREE read a paper on the Boston Tea Party, presenting material that has subsequently been incorporated in his book, *The Boston Tea Party* (New York, 1964).

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